THE

# Earl of *Caſtlehaven's*

# MEMOIRS:

OR, HIS Touchet (J.)

# *REVIEW*

OF THE LATE

# Wars of *Ireland*,

With his own

Engagement and Conduct therein.

To which is added, An

APPENDIX and POSTSCRIPT.

The whole

*Enlarged and Corrected by himſelf.*

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*WATERFORD:*

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MDCCLIII.

Charles O Connor
of Belanagare in the
County of Roscomon Esqr.
1753.

# The EDITOR's PREFACE.

THE noble AUTHOR of the following MEMOIRS lived in times, wherein the generality of Men have written as deſperately as they fought; rather conformably to the dictates of their paſſions and party-intereſt, than to thoſe of Juſtice or Reaſon. His Lordſhip viewed thoſe times in all their horrors; more terrible indeed than thoſe of *Rome*, in the Days of *Cicero*, when all the Laws of common Equity were woſully marred, public Juſtice wantonly inſulted, and the *beſt* Citizens of the Republic deſpoiled and butchered by the *worſt*. Why Affairs wore ſtill a worſe aſpect, during our Civil conteſts, is not hard to be accounted for. In *Rome*, truth was neither gagged nor fettered: *Through the*

*want of our Eccleſiaſtical materials*, it could not be proſcribed or interdicted, like thoſe who laid down their Lives in Defence of it: --- *Sylla* and *Cæſar* had the Infamy of triumphing over the Republic; but Hiſtory, even in their own Days, triumphed *over them*, and did Juſtice to *their Oppoſers*: Tyranny was eſtabliſhed; but Poſterity had the Satisfaction, and it was their own Fault that they did not take the Advantage, of *ſeeing* by what Follies; of *marking* by what Arts; and of *feeling* by what Vices, their Fathers were reduced from a State of Freedom to a State of Servitude and Thraldom. The Caſe was quite the reverſe in the Days of my Lord *Caſtlehaven*: Indeed, for a whole Century *before* his Time, and *ſince*, it hath been moſtly ſo. Men in Power, who improved every ſpecies of political Evil, to the Aggrandiſement of Party, by which they

they triumphed and proſpered, lent their Authority for ſtamping the baſeſt untruths into Currency; and whilſt ſome Facts were *too glaring* to be controverted, this ſtern Authority ſtepped forward to ſanctify them, and to aſcribe the Perpetration of the moſt wicked Acts to the higheſt Efforts of Virtue and Patriotiſm: Nor was this all; it bound up the *Pens* of Hiſtorians, as effectually as it diſarmed the *Hands* of thoſe it ruined: And whoever had Virtue enough to call the Acts of this Authority in Queſtion (*for no Man, or party, could call it to account*) was reputed equally criminal with thoſe, who were deepeſt in the Rage and Civil Wars of the times. This Conduct of Men in Power my Lord *Caſtlehaven* ſaw, and experienced, in his own Caſe: He found it much more cruel and deteſtable in the Caſe of others, *not excepting that of his lawful Sovereign.*

To

To examine into the Cauſes which rendered the *Roman* Proſcriptions *leſs malevolent* than *ours*, would be edifying: Their *Ends* were the *ſame*, no Doubt; but the *Means* were different. In the *one Caſe*, an Advantage could not be taken, which lay open in *the other*, for puniſhing the Writers of Hiſtory. In *Rome*, no Set of Men in Power *could call Religion to their Aſſiſtance*; or pretend, that the Miſeries of the Times were owing to the *Heterodoxy of Parties*: This, in part, ſaved *Rome*: But, in the *Britannic Iſles*, the Caſe was otherwiſe, as before obſerved; and Men grew *truculent and bloody*, in Proportion to the *Heat of their Zeal*. Here it was advanced, *audaciouſly* advanced, That the Fanaticiſm of *this* and the Superſtition of *that* Mode of Worſhip, nay the Heterodoxy of *both*, occaſioned the calamity of the Times: This was far from being the Truth

of

of the Caſe. In Fact, it was owing primarily to the ambition of Men, who made their *ſeveral Religions* bend to their *ſecret Principles*; inſtead of making *thoſe Principles* yield to what Religion preſcribed: For no Religion (no *Chriſtian* Religion I hope) ever licenſed the Commiſſion of moral Evil in the World. But indeed, when this Religion of the Goſpel, or rather the Fautors of this or that Scheme of Faith, began to defend the groſſeſt Impieties, by giving *good Names* to *bad Things*, and Cauſes the *moſt laudable* to Effects the *moſt wicked*, and all this under the ſanction of Theological Syſtems; then, and then only, was the Maſs of Civil Rage fermented, beyond any Degree which *Heathen* Violence, in the worſt of Times, could afford.

If theſe Truths were ſufficiently adverted to; if it were conſidered how much Mankind have been *embit-*

*tered*

*tered* and *waſted*, by the Tranſlation of Power from *one* Religious Party to *another*, much Peace, much Humanity, would enſue; much Ignorance would be obviated, and Error (worſe than Ignorance) would vaniſh: The quarrels about religion would be moſtly at an End. Inſtead of labouring our whole Lives to detect the Errors in the Religion of *others*, we would ſeriouſly and uſefully employ Part of the Time in the Detection of thoſe in *our own*; an examination extremely wanted, but, I doubt, equally remote; if we wilfully acquieſce in the fallacious conviction, that *our own* containeth no heterodox Articles: Such a Conviction is really the more productive of Evil, as it *infers* that Infallibility ſo boldly claimed in the Church of *Rome*.

LET us now apply theſe Truths to the Subject of the following *Memoirs*;

*Memoirs*; a Civil War kindled in the Heart of our own Country, and carried on to all the extremes of Seduction and Violence! ---- That *in the neighbouring Iſle* began *firſt*; and, if it did not lay the train here, it at leaſt applied the match which fired it off. My Lord *Caſtlehaven*, like a judicious Hiſtorian, lays the Cauſe of *ours* in the perpetual Animoſities between the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*, ever ſince the firſt Settlement and hoſtilities of the *former*, in the Reign, and under the Conduct of *Henry II.* He ſaw, how little the Submiſſion of the *old Iriſh* to the *Engliſh* Government availed them; how, for *four hundred Years, before the Reformation*, no Laws, nor Conſtitution of Civil Polity, was allowed them, notwithſtanding their frequent ſollicitations for the ſame, *from the* PLANTAGENET *Race*; how, during that *long Period*, they have been devoted

to all the calamities of Anarchy and Slaughter; how, in the Reign of *that worthy Monarch* JAMES I. (the firſt of the *Stuart* Line) the *Innocent* were confounded with the *Guilty* (if any Guilt there was) and ſix entire Counties confiſcated from them, and planted with Colonies from the *Low-lands* of *Scotland*; finally, how the Governors here, in Lord *Caſtlehaven's* own Time, (PARSONS and BORLACE) ſought *every Means*, and defended every Act, which might force ſuch exaſperated Spirits into Rebellion; how *theſe Governors* took Occaſion to frighten thoſe Men with the terrors of Extirpation, by threatening unheard-of Violence to their Conſciences; and how induſtriouſly all avenues of redreſs, all approaches to the Royal Preſence, were, for a conſiderable Time, rendered inacceſſible to this devoted People. Thus was the War declared;

ed; and thus were Hoſtilities begun; when a Party in the *North*, headed by a few of the diſpoſſeſſed Gentry, began very violent Acts, in *November* 1641, and ſoon after entered the *Engliſh Pale*; warranted for ſo doing (as they thought) not only by the Violence offered them by the Governors, but by the Example of the *Scotiſh Fanatics*, who invaded *England*, in the Year before: With this Difference, however, that *they* took up Arms *for the Monarchy*; which the *others*, by a *ſolemn Covenant*, reſolved to *overturn*. That theſe Inſurgents were guilty of Cruelties unwarranted by Honour, or Humanity, or Religion, is certain; and that they, who *exaſperated* them into all this, were the *true Authors* of all the Blood-ſhed, on both Sides, is equally ſo. In ſuch a Tragedy, the Party, who hath the *leaſt* Power to offend, ſuffers the *moſt*: The Confederate

federate Catholics, who deteſted theſe Barbarities, and who, in Truth, hated their *Iriſh* Brethren (from the feuds of former times) ſuffered by the Maſſacre more than the Inſurgents themſelves, whoſe Outrages were confined only to a few Counties, not to the whole Kingdom, as my Lord *Clarendon* very *unfairly* (to give it the ſofteſt Epithet) repreſents them.

THE Time is approaching, when the entangled threads of theſe affairs will be wound up, in one ſtreight Clue of true Hiſtory: Until that arrives, the *Memoirs* of the Noble and Excellent Peer before us, muſt be a valuable preſent to the Public.

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NOTE, *The Subſcribers being ſo very few, not above* 50 *in Number, it was thought needleſs to inſert them.*

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THE

THE

# Earl of *Caſtlehaven's* MEMOIRS,

OR HIS

## Review of the *Iriſh* Wars, &c.

OF all the practices uſed of late to involve the Nation in a general combuſtion, and once more to ſet us all together by the ears, as nothing is more unchriſtian, ſo none can be of more dangerous conſequence to the publick, than the people's rubbing up old ſores, and reproaching one another (when they promiſe to reform, and become peaceable ſubjects) with their paſt crimes, or the names of parties and factions, to keep the breach ſtill on foot. It has always been ſo deſtructive of the peace and quiet of all commonwealths, that there can be no hopes of a laſting ſettlement, while this animoſity continues. Hence it was that immediately upon his majeſty's moſt happy reſtoration it was thought of abſolute neceſſity by the repreſentative wiſdom of the nation, by king, lords and commons, to paſs an act of oblivion of all crimes till then committed; and by certain penalties to ſtop the people's mouths from uſing any

words of reproach, tending to revive the memory of their paſt calamities. But ſuch is the licentiouſneſs of this libelling age, and ſo great is the malice, and ſo prodigious the impudence of ſome wicked men, whoſe charity extends no further than their intereſt; that while themſelves are the greateſt criminals, they exclaim againſt others, as unworthy to live. Of this we have ſeveral inſtances in divers books and pamphlets, by them publiſhed theſe forty years paſt, and ſome, with no good deſign, reprinted ſince theſe laſt troubleſome times. But they have exceeded all others, and out-done even themſelves, in the tragical ſtories they give us of the *Iriſh* inſurrection in the year 1641, which they have ſo ſtrangely miſ-repreſented to the world, and, with ſuch fictions and invectives, traduced the whole nation, that, wherever they are believed, an *Iriſh-man* can paſs for no other, than a monſter in nature.

'Tis true, the *Iriſh* inſurrection can never be juſtified, and had *they alone* been concerned in ſuch crimes, it were very reaſonable and juſt (if prudence as well as charity did not oblige us to forget and forgive) to have them expoſed to the world, and ſet forth in the blackeſt colours: But when their neighbour-nations were at leaſt equally criminal; 'tis no more equity in any man to rail againſt them in particular, than it is prudence in a magiſtrate to ſhut up only one houſe when the plague is univerſal.

I muſt aver, I little expect to have any occaſion this time of the day, to ſpeak or write any thing on this ſubject, when I hoped all was forgiven, and happily buried in oblivion. But finding myſelf mentioned afreſh, not without ſome new aggravations, by theſe worthy authors of *ſlander* and *lyes*, as having had a part in the *Iriſh* rebellion; tho', leſt they ſhould do me ſome juſtice, they are not pleaſed to tell how I have been uſed before I was brought to it, nor how I carried myſelf while of that party, nor yet what I have ſince done to expiate my offence, by ſerving with all poſſible zeal and fidelity the late and preſent King ever ſince the peace *there* concluded in 1646, I find myſelf under a neceſſity to ſay ſomething in my own defence, ſetting forth the truth of my ſtory, in as brief and plain a method as poſſible, to obviate the falſe and malicious calumnies of theſe *forging ſcriblers*.

But before I go farther, I muſt deſire the reader to make ſome difference between the firſt beginners of the rebellion, and thoſe that afterwards carried on the war under the title of *The confederate Catholicks of Ireland*. And to ſhew what grounds there is for this diſtinction, I ſhall here give a ſhort account of the riſe and progreſs of that inſurrection, and begin with my conceptions of the motives and inducements, the Lord *Mac Guire*, Sir *Phelim O Neil*, and others, their accomplices, had to enter into that wicked conſpiracy.

After the *Scots* had rebelled againſt the King in the year 1638, tho' they ſoon laid down their arms on the pacification at *Berwick*, where I was, yet the fire was but ſmothered for that time, not altogether extinguiſhed. For in the year 1640, it broke out with greater violence than before, when they invaded *England*, fought and beat the king's troops at *Newburn*, and, advancing, took *Newcaſtle*.

On this alarm the king came to *York*, where he aſſembled his great council of all the peers of the kingdom, amongſt whom I was one; and by their advice the treaty at *Rippon* was ſet on foot, where a ſuſpenſion of arms was concluded with the *Scots*, on condition to pay them above 25000 l. per month, to the great diſcredit of the *Engliſh* nation. All this time the king was importuned with petitions from moſt counties of *England*, for a ſpeedy parliament; to which his majeſty agreed: And having diſſolved his great council of peers, he ordered that unfortunate parliament to be ſummoned, which met at *Weſtminiſter*, the third day of *November* following.

Great were the people's expectations concerning the reſolutions of this new parliament; having in about twelve years before ſeen none, but that ſhort one of *April* preceding, which, laſting but two and twenty days, ſpent for the moſt part in idle preliminaries and declamatory harangues, came not to any iſſue touching the publick affairs of the nation. The king at the opening of this

this ſeſſion, ſet forth how the *Scots*, without any cauſe or provocation, came in an horrible manner armed into *England*, were then gnawing the bowels of the kingdom, and like ſo to continue, unleſs ſpeedily prevented by his, and their joint concurrence. In order therefore to reduce theſe gentlemen, he gives both houſes all poſſible aſſurance of his readineſs to concur with them in any thing they could find effectual for ſettling the peace and redreſſing the real grievances of his ſubjects. But this, and many other ſuch gracious condeſcenſions, ſerved only to increaſe the flame among the factions, who now, inſtead of voting the *Scotch* army, *rebels* and *traitors*, not only ſtiled them *dear brethren*, but beſtowed on them 300000 l. for their kindneſs, and voted Mr. *Gervaſe Holles* to to be expelled the houſe, for ſaying, upon their debate, how this money ſhould be paid, " That " the beſt way of paying them was by arms " to expell them out of the kingdom." Neitheir was this all. The *Scots* are no more careſſed on the one hand, than the king's miniſters and friends are run down on the other: And the more the good king gave way to their madneſs, and yielded to their moſt unreaſonable demands in hopes they would at laſt become ſober, and mind their duty, the more inſolent and imperious ſtill they grew; as if nothing but the total ſubverſion of the government could in any meaſure ſatisfie their ambition: Which, though they carried ſmoothly for ſome time, till they

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had got themſelves firſt made *triennial* and at laſt *perpetual dictators*; and, by ſending the biſhops to the tower, had robbed their prince of twenty-ſix votes at once, and of a great deal more by paſſing the bill of *attainder*; yet nothing was more viſible in all their proceedings, than their ill deſigns againſt the monarchy, and thereupon the approach of a ſudden rupture between the king and the factious part of both houſes.

The Lord *Mac Guire*, Sir *Phelim O Neil*, and others of the *Iriſh* nation, diſſatisfied with their own condition, and conſequently weary of the government there, thought this conjecture very ſeaſonable for their purpoſe: And like the Aſs in the fable (who, by imitating the fawning dog, expected to get into his maſter's favour, but was ſoundly baſtinado'd for his folly) doubted not by taking the like method, they ſhould fare no worſe than the *Scots*, in the redreſs of their grievances. And therefore that they ſhould not loſe the advantage of ſo fair an opportunity; they quickly put their heads together, and concluded that on the 23d of *October* 1641, they ſhould ſurpriſe the caſtle of *Dublin*, the chief magazine of the kingdom: And upon their good ſucceſs in that attempt, endeavour to take in the reſt. But providence timely diſcovered this wicked conſpiracy, and the plotters fell into the pit themſelves had dug for others: *Mac Guire* and *Mac Mahon* were taken, and being ſent into *England*, were executed at *Tyburn*, and the reſt forced to retire into woods and mountains to ſave themſelves from the hands of juſtice. Now

Now the *Iriſh* offered me, while I was among them, ſeveral reaſons (beſides theſe mentioned) why they would at this time enter into ſuch a horrid combination againſt their natural ſovereign.——But theſe following, I think, are the moſt conſiderable.

1ſt. They obſerved, that by the governors of that kingdom they were generally looked upon as a conquered nation, ſeldom or never treated like natural or free-born ſubjects: And for their further excuſe, ſaid beſides, that a diſcontented people, while thus uſed, are very apt to think they are no longer obliged, than they are forced, to obedience; but may, by the ſame way they had loſt, when able, regain their liberty.

2dly. It grieved them extremely, that on the account of *Tyrone*'s rebellion, as they ſaid, ſix whole counties in *Ulſter* were in a lump eſcheated to the crown, and little or nothing reſtored to the natives, though ſeveral of them never join'd with *Tyrone*, but a great part beſtowed by king *James* on his countrymen.

3dly. It did not a little heighten their diſcontent, that in the Earl of *Strafford*'s time, there was a great noiſe of intitling the crown to the counties of *Roſcommon*, *Mayo*, *Galway*, and *Cork*, with ſome parts of *Tipperary*, *Limerick*, *Wicklow* and others: And, they averred, and experience tells us, where the people's property is like to be invaded, neither religion nor loyalty is able to keep them within bounds, if they find themſelves in a condition to make

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any conſiderable oppoſition: And ſo brought in the ſaying of thoſe reſolute ambaſſadors of the *Privernates*, who, tho' reduced to ſuch a very low condition, that they came to beg peace of the Senate of *Rome*, yet being aſked what peace ſhould the *Romans* expect from them that had broke it ſo often? They boldly anſwered (which made the Senate accept of their propoſals) *if a good one*, it ſhall be faithful and laſting; but, *if bad*, it ſhall not hold very long. For think not, ſaid they, that any people, or even any man, will in that condition, whereof they are weary, continue any longer than of neceſſity they muſt. *Liv. lib.* 8.

4thly. They found that ſince the ſitting of this parliament, great ſeverities were uſed againſt the Roman Catholicks in *England*, and both houſes ſollicited by ſeveral petitions out of *Ireland*, to have thoſe of that kingdom treated with the like rigor, which to a people ſo fond of their religion as the *Iriſh*, was no ſmall inducement to make them, while there was an opportunity offered, to ſtand upon their guard.

5thly. They ſaw the *Scots* by pretending grievances, and taking up arms to get them redreſſed, had not only gained divers privileges and immunities, but got 300000 l. for their viſit, beſides 850 l. a day for ſeveral months together. And this precedent encouraged the *Iriſh* ſo much at that time, that they offered it to *Owen O Conolly* who diſcovered the deſign, as their chief motive of riſing then

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in rebellion; which, ſaid he, " † They engaged " in, to be rid of the tyrannical government that " was over them, and to imitate *Scotland*, who " by that courſe had enlarged their privileges."

Laſtly, They foreſaw the ſtorm draw on, and ſuch miſ-underſtandings daily ariſe between the king and parliament, as portended no leſs than a ſudden rupture between them, which made theſe male-contents believe the king, thus engaged, partly at home, and partly with the *Scotch*, could not be able to ſuppreſs *them* ſo far off; and therefore, rather than hold out, would grant them any thing they could in reaſon demand, at leaſt, more than otherwiſe they could expect.

Much to this purpoſe Mr. *Howel* writ of the original of the rebellion, in his *Mercurius Hibernicus*, in the year 1643, whoſe words, becauſe an impartial author, and a known proteſtant, I will here tranſcribe, in confirmation of what I have ſaid, and for the reader's further ſatisfaction.

" The *Iriſh* hearing, ſaid he, how well their " next neighbours had ſped, by way of arms, it " filled them full of thoughts and apprehenſions, " of fear and jealouſy, that the *Scotch* (than whom " no nation upon earth is in that perfection, and " with greater antipathy hated by the *Iriſh*) " would prove more powerful hereby, and con- " ſequently more able to do them hurt, and to " attempt ways to reſtrain them of that conni- " vance which they were allowed in point of

 " religion

† *O Conolly*'s exam. *Octob.* 22. 1641. *Borlace*'s hiſtory of the *Iriſh* rebellion, pag. 21.

" religion. Moreover they entered into conſi-
" deration, that they alſo had ſundry grievances,
" and grounds of complaint, both touching
" their eſtates and conſciences, which they pre-
" tended to be far greater than thoſe of the
" *Scotch*. For they fell to think, that if the *Scotch*
" were ſuffered to introduce a *new* religion, it was
" reaſon they ſhould not be puniſhed in the ex-
" erciſe of their *old*, which they glory never to
" have altered. And for temporal matters,
" wherein the *Scotch* had no grievances at all to
" ſpeak of; the new plantations, which had
" been lately propoſed, to be made in *Conaught*,
" and other places; the cancelled lands and
" defective titles, which were daily found out;
" the new cuſtoms which were impoſed; and,
" the incapacity they had to any preferment or
" office in church or ſtate, with other things
" they conceived to be grievances of a far greater
" nature, and deſerved redreſs much more than
" any the *Scotch* had. To this end they ſent over
" commiſſioners to attend the parliament in *En-*
" *gland* with certain propoſitions; but thy were
" diſmiſſed hence, with a ſhort and unſavoury
" anſwer; which bred worſe blood in the nati-
" on than was formerly gathered: And this,
" with that leading caſe of the *Scotch*, may be
" ſaid, to be the firſt incitements that made
" them riſe.

" 2dly. In the courſe of human actions, we
" daily find a true rule, *exempla movent*, exam-
" ples move and make a ſtrong impreſſion up-
on

" on the fancy; precepts are not ſo powerful as " precedents. The ſaid example of *Scotland* " wrought ſo powerfully upon the imagination " of the *Iriſh*, and filled them (as I touched be- " fore) with thoughts of emulation, that they " deſerved altogether to have as good uſage as " the *Scotch*; their country being far more bene- " ficial, and conſequently, more importing the " *Engliſh* nation. But theſe were but confuſed " imperfect notions, which began to receive " more vigor and form after the death of " the Earl of *Strafford*, who kept them under " ſo exact an obedience, tho' ſome cenſured " him to have ſcrewed up the ſtrings of the " harp, too high; that the taking off that Earl's " head, may be ſaid to be the ſecond incitement " to the head of that inſurrection to ſtir.

" 3dly. Add hereunto, That the *Iriſh* under- " ſtanding with what acrimony the Roman " Catholicks in *England* were proceeded againſt, " ſince the ſitting of our parliament, and what " further deſigns were on foot againſt them, and " not only againſt them, but even for reverſing " the proteſtant religion, which ſome ſhallow- " brained ſchiſmaticks, throw into the ſame " ſcales with popery; they thought it was high " time for them to forecaſt what ſhould become " of them, and how they ſhould be handled in " point of conſcience, when a new deputy of " the parliament's election (approbation at leaſt) " ſhould come over. Therefore, they fell to " conſult of ſome means of timely prevention:

" And this was another motive (and it was a " ſhrewed one) which puſhed on the *Iriſh* to " take up arms.

" Laſtly, That army of 8000 men, which the " Earl of *Strafford* had raiſed to be tranſported " into *England*, for ſuppreſſing the *Scotch*, being " by the advice of our parliament here diſband- " ed, the country was annoyed by ſome of thoſe " ſtraggling ſoldiers, as not one in twenty of " the *Iriſh* will go from the ſword to the ſpade, " or from the pike to the plow again. There- " fore, the two marqueſſes that were ambaſſa- " dors here (then) from *Spain*, having propound- " ed to have ſome numbers of thoſe diſbanded " forces, for the ſervice of their maſter; his " majeſty, by the mature advice of his privy " council, to prevent the miſchiefs that might " ariſe to his kingdom of *Ireland*, by thoſe looſe " caſhiered ſoldiers, yielded to the ambaſſadors " motion, who ſent notice thereof to *Spain* " accordingly, and ſo provided ſhipping for " their tranſports and impreſſed money to ad- " vance the buſineſs; but as they were in the " height of that work (his majeſty being then " in *Scotland*) there was a ſudden ſtop made of " thoſe promiſed troops, who had depended " long on the *Spaniard's* ſervice, as the *Spaniards* " had done on theirs. And this was the laſt, " tho' not the leaſt, fatal cauſe of that inſurrecti- " on: All which particulars, well conſidered, " it had been no hard matter to have been a " prophet, and ſtanding upon the top of *Holy Head*,

" *Head*, to have foreſeen thoſe black clouds,
" ingendering in the *Iriſh* air, which broke out
" afterwards into ſuch fearful tempeſts of blood.
" Out of theſe premiſes, it is eaſy for any com-
" mon underſtanding, not tranſported with
" paſſion and private intereſt, to draw this con-
" cluſion : That they who complyed with the
" *Scotch* in their inſurrection ; they who diſmiſſed
" the *Iriſh* commiſſioners with ſuch a ſhort un-
" politick anſwer ; they who took off the Earl
" of *Strafford*'s head, and afterwards delayed
" the diſpatching of the Earl of *Leiceſter* ; they
" who hindered thoſe diſbanded troops in
" *Ireland* to go for *Spain*, may be juſtly ſaid, to
" have been the true cauſes of the late inſurrec-
" tion of the *Iriſh*."

Thus concludes this learned and ingenious gentleman, who, as being then his majeſty's hiſtoriographer, was as likely as any man to know the tranſactions of thoſe times, and as an *Engliſhman* and a loyal proteſtant, was beyond all exception of partiality or favour of the papiſts of *Ireland* ; and therefore could have no other reaſon, but the love of truth and juſtice, to give this account of the *Iriſh* rebellion, and make the *Scotch*, and their wicked brethren in the parliament of *England*, the main occaſion of that horrid inſurrection. Neither was this the ſingle opinion of Mr. *Howel*, but the common ſentiment of all honeſt and knowing men, confirmed even by the dying words of our royal martyr, in the twelfth chapter of his *Icon Baſil*,

*Baſil*, where he ſays, " Certainly it is thought " by many wiſe men, that the prepoſterous rigor " and unreaſonable ſeverity, which ſome men " carried before them in *England*, was not " the leaſt incentive that kindled and blew up " into thoſe horrid flames, the ſparks of diſcon- " tent, which wanted not pre-diſpoſed fuel for " rebellion, in *Ireland*; where deſpair being " added to their former diſcontents, and the " fears of utter extirpation to their wonted op- " preſſions, it was eaſy to provoke to an open " rebellion, a people prone enough to break out " to all exorbitant violence, both by ſome prin- " ciples of their religion, and the natural deſires " of liberty; for to exempt themſelves from " their preſent reſtraint, and to prevent thoſe " after-rigors, wherewith they ſaw themſelves " apparently threatned by the covetous zeal, " and uncharitable fury of ſome men, who " think it a great argument of the truth of their " religion, to endure no other but their own. *And again*; " I believe, it will at laſt appear, " that they who firſt began to embroil my other " kingdoms, are in great part guilty, if not of " the firſt ſetting out, yet of the not timely ſtop- " ping thoſe horrid effuſions of blood in *Ireland*.

'Tis plain therefore (tho' other motives were not wanting to render many of that nation ill affected to the government and prepare them for violence) the unexpected ſucceſs of the *Scotch* and daily miſ-underſtandings between the king and the parliament in *England*, gave at this time

birth

birth and life to the *Iriſh* rebellion: For I muſt confeſs, I myſelf am now, as I have been long ſince, upon ſerious reflections, abundantly convinced, that however the circumſtances of *this time gave life and birth to that rebellion of Ireland*; yet the deſign of it had been laid partly at home, but chiefly abroad in foreign parts, even ſeveral years before the troubles either of *England* or *Scotland* began. And that the original, true and great motive indeed thereof, was no other than that *fatal one*, which for ſo many hundred years from *Hen.* II. to the beginning of king *James's* reign, had been not only the very ſource of all the dangerous rebellions of that conntry, but the very *bane* and *ruin* of its people on all ſides for ſo many ages. The national feud, I mean, betwixt the *mere Iriſh* (as the antient *Mileſians* are called) and the later *Iriſh*, or colonies of *Engliſh* extraction among them: And the unalterable perſuaſion of the former, that the *Engliſh conqueſt* of that country, was but mere uſurpation, without any juſt title: And that the right both to the ſupream ſovereignty, and proprietorſhip too, of all the lands of *Ireland*, ſtill remained, according to the antient *Brehon laws* of that country, (which ſay they, had never been legally repealed or antiquated and conſequently alſo according to the laws of God) in the ſurviving heirs of the more antient natives, the *Mileſians*. It is true that forty years continual and flouriſhing peace in all obedience to the *Engliſh* laws there, from the laſt of queen *Eliſabeth* to 1641, ſeemed

to

to carry a fair outſide, as if all thoſe national former animoſities and pretences had been utterly extinguiſhed. But alas! the old leaven ſtill fermented inwardly of one ſide; and among that ſide, the fire was but covered under hot embers. The Earls of *Tyrone* and *Tirconel*, and the councils of *Spain* and *Rome*, and the *Iriſh* monaſteries and ſeminaries, in ſo many countries of *Europe*, and very many of the church-men returning home out of them, and chiefly the titular biſhops, together with the ſuperiors of regular orders, took an effectual courſe, under the ſpecious colour of religion, to add continually new fuel to the burning coals, and prepare them for a flame on the firſt opportunity; which, whoever did not ſee in the beginning of this rebellion (as many did not) by obſerving what extraction, or what names all the firſt appearers in it were of: And how, particularly, of the whole hundred that were deſigned for ſeizing the caſtle of *Dublin*, there was not ſo much as one perſon of *Britiſh* blood, extraction or name among them: might nevertheleſs, and without the help of a multiplying glaſs, moſt clearly ſee it in the procedure of the war. Certainly it is my opinion, 1ſt. That whole and great, and moſt numerous party's exclaiming every where, both at home (in *Ireland*) and abroad in other countries, againſt the *very firſt ceſſation* concluded with the king's lieutenant, the marqueſs of *Ormond*: And in foreign courts repreſenting thoſe confederates that concluded it, not only as falſly aſſuming

the

the name of *Iriſh-men*, but as really favouring the ſchiſm and hereſies of *England*. 2. Their forcing after, at the end of three years more, both the repreſentatives and whole body of the *Iriſh* confederates, to reject ſo ſcandalouſly and perfidiouſly, as they did the peace of 1646. 3. Their oppoſing ſo long, and in ſuch manner as they had done, the peace of 1648, 'till it was too late to retrieve it, or ſubmit to it; were ſuch arguments, as upon ſerious reflection, might convince any unbyaſſed perſon, what the primary grand deſign, and original ſource of that rebellion was; and alſo, what the natural end of it muſt have been, if ſucceſs had anſwered the expectation of the great contrivers, in their plot for ſeizing the chief magazine of the kingdom, the caſtle of *Dublin*.

And yet, I muſt withal acknowledge, there has been from the very beginning of the rebellion, a conſiderable number of thoſe very antient *Mileſians*, that upon all occaſions, ſided ſtill with ſuch other confederate catholicks, as endeavoured all they could to bring back the whole nation to their former obedience, to the king and his laws. In that number the lord viſcount *Muſkry* (after earl of *Clancarthy*) with his whole party, the *O Callaghans*, and ſome other gentlemen thereof (men of note in *Munſter*) were eminent. To whom (after the *Nuncio's excommunication*, publiſhed againſt thoſe that obeyed the *ceſſation of arms*, concluded with the lord of *Inchiquin*) many others alſo of the ſaid *Mileſians*, in other pro-

 vinces,

vinces, joined themſelves, to ſhew their conſent to the peace of 1648, and conſequently, their obedience to the king. Among theſe, beſides the lord of *Iveagh*, *Alexander Mac Donall*, and others, even that unfortunate gentleman, ſir *Phelim O Neil* himſelf, was one; tho' after all, I muſt likewiſe acknowledge, that becauſe the far greater number of the *Mileſians*, at leaſt the ſtronger party of them were on the other ſide; whoſe wilful obſtinacy rendred at long run all the endeavours and returns of honeſt men wholly inſignificant and fruitleſs, whether to the king or themſelves, or to defend their country from being utterly ſubdued, at the end of three years more, by the parliament forces.

But leſt any ſhould think otherwiſe, either of the different inclinations and endeavours of thoſe parties, among the *more antient Iriſh* themſelves, or of that very original deſign, and ſource of the rebellion, which I have nakedly given, according to my own later thoughts of both; yet foraſmuch as I put here no ſtreſs at all on ſuch matters, I paſs them over; and only at preſent aver, That whatever the primary grand deſign, whatever the ſource of this rebellion was, or might have been, it is notwithſtanding, in all appearance, beyond diſpute, that (as I have ſaid before) the unexpected ſucceſs of the *Scotch*, and the daily miſ-underſtandings between the king and the parliament in *England*, was, what gave *it birth and life at this time*, viz. on the 23d of *October* 1641. As for the *maſſacre* that enſued, it was certainly very barbarous and

inhuman

inhuman, tho' I cannot believe, the tenth part of the *Britiſh* natives (reported by ſir *John Temple* and others of the ſame kidney, to have been murdered by the *Iriſh*) lived then in that kingdom, out of cities and walled towns, where no ſuch *maſſacre* was committed. I am certain in ſir *John Temple*'s muſter-rolls, of whom the ſubſequent ſcriblers borrowed all their catalogues, there are not 15000 perſons to be found, tho' it is manifeſt, that in divers places, he repeats the ſame circumſtances twice or thrice over, and mentions hundreds, as then murdered, that lived many years after; nay, ſome even this day alive. Nevertheleſs, it is very certain, that there have been great cruelties commited upon the *Engliſh*, tho', I believe, not the twentieth part of what is generally reported. But the truth is, they were very bloody on both ſides, and tho' ſome will throw all upon the *Iriſh*, yet 'tis well known who they were that uſed to give *orders* to their parties, ſent into enemies quarters, to ſpare neither man, woman nor child. And the leading men among the *Iriſh*, have this to ſay for themſelves, That they were all along ſo far from favouring any of the murderers, that not only by their agents (ſoon after the king's reſtoration) but even in their † remonſtrance, preſented by the lord viſcount *Gormanſtown* and ſir *Robert Talbot* on the 17th of *March* 1642, the nobility and gentry of the nation deſired, That the murders on both ſides committed, ſhould be

 ſtrictly

† *Borlace*'s hiſtory, pag. 58.

ſtrictly examined, and the authors of them puniſhed, according to the utmoſt ſeverity of the law. Which propoſal, certainly their adverſaries could never have rejected, but that they were conſcious to themſelves of being deeper in the mire, than they would have the world believe.

This is plain matter of fact, and the conſequence of it ſo obvious, that, notwithſtanding all the groundleſs clamours of ſome, who loudly cry out againſt the *Iriſh*, but ſpeak not a word of their own rebellion, I muſt do that kingdom ſo much juſtice, as to declare, that I can no more believe, the leading part of the nation, did ever deſign, much leſs encourage, the barbarous cruelties there committed, than I can be perſuaded, that the lords and commons, who firſt made war againſt the late king in *England*, did from the beginning intend to imbrue their hands in his ſacred blood. Yet ſtill I think them inexcuſable, becauſe I ſee no great difference, whether a man kills another himſelf, or unchains a fierce maſtiff, that will tear him to pieces. I cannot therefore but believe, the contrivers and abettors of the *Iriſh* rebellion, guilty of the *maſſacre* that enſued, tho' committed by the rude rabble; no leſs than thoſe that raiſed the late rebellion in *England*, are guilty of their prince's blood, as if they had actually been regicides: tho' the army on the one hand, and the rabble on the other, did the work, which their firſt movers, who unchained them from their obedience to the laws, were not able to hinder.

As

As for the generality of the nation, whatever the *northern* rebels gave out to the contrary, to encourage their party, and induce others to join with them; 'tis manifeſt, they knew nothing of the deſign before, nor favoured it after it was diſcovered; as appears by their ſolemn proteſtation in parliament on *November* 16. 1641, when meeting, according to their prorogation, in the caſtle of *Dublin*, and this rebellion being laid before them by the lords juſtices, ſir *William Parſons* and ſir *John Borlace*, in order (as they ſaid) to find out ſome effectual means to reduce the rebels and bring them to juſtice; both houſes immediately declared their abhorrence to the rebellion, and agreed *nemine contradicente* to the following proteſtation.

" † Whereas the happy and peaceable ſtate of " this realm, hath been of late, and is ſtill inter- " rupted by ſundry perſons ill-affected to the " peace and tranquility thereof; who contrary " to their duty and loyalty to his majeſty, and a- " gainſt the laws of God, and the fundamental " laws of this realm, have traiterouſly and rebel- " liouſly raiſed arms, ſeized upon his majeſty's " forts and caſtles, and diſpoſſeſſed many of his " faithful ſubjects, of their houſes, lands and " goods, and have ſlain many of them, and " committed other cruel and inhuman outrages " and acts of hoſtility within this realm: the " ſaid lords and commons in parliament aſſem- " bled, being juſtly moved with a true ſenſe of the ſaid

† *Borlace*'s hiſtory pag. 33.

" ſaid diſloyal and rebellious proceedings and
" actions of the perſons aforeſaid, do hereby pro-
" teſt and declare, that the ſaid lords and com-
" mons, from their hearts, do deteſt and abhor
" the ſaid abominable actions, and that they
" ſhall, and will to their utmoſt power, main-
" tain the right of his majeſty's crown and go-
" vernment of this realm, and the peace and
" ſafety thereof, as well againſt the perſons afore-
" ſaid, their abettors and adherents, as alſo, a-
" gainſt all foreign princes, potentates, and o-
" ther perſons and attempts whatſover: And in
" caſe the perſons do not repent of their afore-
" ſaid actions, lay down arms, and become
" humble ſuitors to his majeſty for grace and
" mercy, in ſuch convenient time, and in ſuch
" manner and form, as by his majeſty, or the
" chief governor or governors, and the council
" of this realm, ſhall be ſet down: The lords
" and commons do further proteſt and declare,
" that they will take up arms, and will, with
" their lives and fortunes, ſuppreſs them in their
" attempts, in ſuch a way, as by the authority of
" the parliament of this kingdom, with the
" approbation of his moſt excellent majeſty,
" or his majeſty's chief governor or governors
" of this kingdom, ſhall be thought moſt
" effectual."

Thus both houſes of parliament (the true repreſentative of the nation's loyalty) unanimouſly declared their readineſs, to proſecute and ſuppreſs the rebels, and in order to bring them ſpeedily

to

to condign punishment: having with all possible zeal and alacrity, offered their lives and fortunes to the lords justices; they fell immediately to consider of the most effectual means to do the work. But this way of proceeding did not, it seems, square with the lords justices designs, who were often heard to say, *That the more were in rebellion, the more lands should be forfeited to them*; and therefore, in the very heat of the business, they resolved upon a prorogation; which the parliament understanding, the lord viscount *Costelloe* and myself, were sent from the lords house, and others from the commons, to the lords justices, to desire the continuance of the parliament, at least till the rebels (then few in number) were reduced. But our address was slighted, and the parliament, the next day prorogued, to the great surprise of both houses, and the general dislike of all honest and knowing men.

This encouraged the rebels, and vastly increased their numbers in divers places of the kingdom. Freedom of *rapine* and *murder* drew such numbers of men together, that the few desperate male-contents, who began the tragedy, in a short time, became a formidable army, and were at length so bold, as to besiege *Drogheda*, about twenty miles from *Dublin*; to the succour of which major *Roper*, marching with 7 or 800 men, was in a great mist (near *Gillianstown*) set upon by the rebels and defeated; whereupon they forced the country round about (as the *Scotch* the year before did the northern parts of *England*)

*England*) to a weekly contribution, for the payment of their army, which afterwards was, by the lords juſtices, made a great crime; tho' in the north of *England*, the like was thought known by the king, as if the contribution favoured and encouraged the rebellion.

The members of parliament in this diſorder retired to their ſeveral habitations in the country; ſo did I to mine, but had not been long at home, when I received a letter, ſigned by the viſcount *Germanſtown* and *Nettervil*, and by the barons of *Slane*, *Lowth* and *Dunſany*, with an incloſed one to the lords juſtices, which theſe noblemen deſired me to ſend, and if poſſible, to get their lordſhips anſwer. The letter was very humble and ſubmiſſive, deſiring only they might have permiſſion to ſend their petitions into *England*, to repreſent their grievances to the king: wherefore I ſent it incloſed to the lords juſtices, who were ſilent as to theirs, yet anſwered mine, tho' little more than a cover; in which they ſaid, Theſe were rebels and traitors, and adviſed me to receive no more letters from them. I readily ſubmitted, nor do I know to this hour, how that letter came to my hands.

All this while parties were ſent out by the lords juſtices, and council from *Dublin*, and moſt gariſons throughout the kingdom, to kill and deſtroy the rebels; but the officers and ſoldiers took little or no care to diſtinguiſh between rebels and ſubjects, but killed in many places promiſcouſly men, women and children; which procedure

cedure, not only exaſperated the rebels, and induced them to commit the like cruelties upon the *Engliſh*, but frightened the nobility and gentry about, who, ſeeing the harmleſs country people, without reſpect to age or ſex, thus barbarouſly murdered, and themſelves openly threatened as favourers of the rebellion, for paying the contribution they could not poſſibly refuſe, reſolved to ſtand upon their guard. Nevertheleſs, before they would attempt any thing againſt the government, they ſought ſeveral ways to get their petitions conveyed to the king, and at length prevailed with ſir *John Read*, a *Scotchman*, and one of his majeſty's ſervants (then going for *England*) to undertake it; who coming to the marqueſs of *Ormand*, upon his march towards *Drogheda*, was (on what ſuſpicion I know not) by him ſent to the lords juſtices to *Dublin*, and not concealing what he carried, by them impriſoned, and ſoon after put to the rack. Much about this time was the like done to *Patrick Barnwell* of *Kilbrew*, a man of 66 years of age, but upon what account I cannot tell; only I have been told, his crime was, that he came in upon the lords juſtices proclamation of pardon to thoſe of the *Pale*, that would in ten days ſubmit themſelves; and was ſo wiſe as not to conſider, that * free-holders (as being more criminal than the reſt, becauſe of their eſtates) were by the lords juſtices, expreſly exempt out of that proclamation. As to *Read*, ſeveral queſtions were put to him, and among the



* *Borlace*'s hiſtory, pag. 30.

reſt, he was much preſſed to tell, how far the late king and queen were privy to, or concerned in the *Iriſh* rebellion: This is notoriouſly known; but I have it more particularly from my brother Col. *Mervin Touchett*, who heard it from ſir *John Read* himſelf, as he was brought out of the room where he was racked.

This did not a little inflame the reckoning, and it was a great addition to their diſcontent, that the king referred the whole buſineſs of *Ireland* (whereby they thought he deſerted the protection of his people) to the parliament of *England*, who thereupon paſſed ſuch wild votes and ordinances, as tended to the utter extirpation of the natives of that kingdom; not only declaring on *Dec.* 8, 1641, that they would never give conſent to any toleration of the * popiſh religion in *Ireland*, or in any other his majeſty's dominions; but enacting further in *February* following, when few, of any conſiderable fortune or eſtate, were concerned in the rebellion; that two millions, and five hundered thouſand acres of profitable land in *Ireland*, beſides boggs, woods and barren mountains, ſhould be aſſigned to adventurers for ſmall proportions of money (which was afterwards employed to raiſe armies againſt the king in *England*) to reduce the rebels of that kingdom. But the greateſt diſcontent of all, was about the lords juſtices proroguing the parliament (the only way the nation had to expreſs their loyalty, and prevent their being miſ-repreſented

* *Borlace*'s hiſtory, pag. 34.

ſented to their ſovereign) which, had it been permitted to ſit for any reaſonable time, would, in all likelihood, without any great charge or trouble, have brought the rebels to juſtice: For the war that afterwards enſued, was headed and carried on principally by members that then ſat in parliament. And to ſay theſe members were all along concerned in the rebellion, or engaged with the firſt contrivers of it, is to make them, not only the greateſt knaves, but the veryeſt fools on earth, ſince otherwiſe they could not have been ſo earneſt for the continuance of the parliament, whilſt ſitting in the caſtle, and under the lords juſtices guards, who upon the leaſt intelligence, which could not long be wanting, had no more to do but to ſhut the gates, and make them all priſoners, without any poſſibility of eſcape, or hopes of redemption.

Thus the contagion ſpread itſelf by degrees over the whole kingdom, and now there's no more looking back, for all were in arms, and full of indignation; there was fighting almoſt in every corner, and unfortunately for me, one encounter happened in the ſight of my houſe, at *Maddingſtown*, between the marqueſs of *Ormond*, commanding the *Engliſh*, and, the lord viſcount *Mountgarret*, the *Iriſh* forces, where the latter was defeated. This encounter goes by the name of the battle of *Kilruſh*, fought the 15th of *April* 1642. The *Engliſh* were not above 3000 men ſtrong, but were bold and expert troops, well officered, with ſome commons; the *Iriſh* were more

more in number, but ill armed, and but newly formed into bodies.

After this defeat my lord of *Ormond* being to paſs with his army juſt by my gates; ſome of his officers of my acquaintance came galloping before, aſſuring me his lordſhip would be with me in half an hour. Hereupon I beſtired myſelf, and having two or three cooks, a good barn-door, and plenty of wines (beſides my own family, I had with me the dutcheſs of *Buckingham*, the marqueſs of *Antrim*, her huſband, and the lady *Roſe*, Mr. *Daniel*'s ſiſter) we patched up a dinner ready to be ſet upon the table at my lord's coming in; but ſome that came with him turned this another way, magnifying the entertainment beyond what it was, and publiſhed thro' the army, that it was a mighty feaſt, prepared for my lord *Mountgarrett* and the rebels. This, thro' the *Engliſh* army, paſſed for current, and I believe did me no ſmall prejudice with the lords juſtices, as ſhall appear in the ſequel of my ſtory, which I ſhall now purſue with a letter I received from my brother, Col. *Mervin Touchett* upon this occaſion.

"Hearing your lordſhip is now writing ſome-
"what again of your concerns in *Ireland*,
"during the late war: tho' I, as one that was
"with you there in the beginning of the trou-
"bles, and therefore poſſibly might remind you
"of ſome paſſages more in my knowledge than
"yours, have before written to you on that ſub-
"ject; yet now remembring ſome things I had
"then omitted, I add them here.

"When

" When the rebellion broke forth in the " *north*, you were in *munſter*; and on the news, " you immediately repaired to *Dublin*, to the " lords juſtices, ſir *William Panſons* and ſir *John* " *Borlace*, where you acquainted them with " your willingneſs to ſerve the king againſt the " rebels, as your anceſtors had formerly done in " *Ireland*, on the like occaſions: to which they " replied, your religion was an obſtacle. There " being then a parliament in that kingdom ſit- " ting, you were reſolved to ſee the event, ſend- " ing me to your houſe at *Maddingſtown*, in the " county of *Kildare*, to ſecure and defend it, in " caſe there were any riſing in thoſe parts. " Upon my coming, I found many poor *Engliſh* " ſtriped, whom I took into the houſe and re- " lieved, defending them in the beſt manner I " could. Some time after the parliament being " diſſolved, you deſired of the juſtices a paſs to " go for *Engand*; but they refuſing, you ac- " quainted them, that your eſtate there was not " in a condition to maintain you in *Dublin*; and " deſired that you might be ſupplied with ſome " money for your ſubſiſtance, until ſuch time as " you could apply yourſelf to the parliament in " *England* for a paſs to bring you over; which " they denied. You preſſed them then to direct " you what courſe you ſhould ſteer; to which " they replied: go home and make fair weather. " You took this advice, and being come, my " lord of *Antrim* and my lady Dutcheſs of " *Buckingham*, ſoon followed; and you were ve-

" ry

" ry well pleaſed with ſo good company to ſpend
" your proviſions. But in a ſhort time, the
" *Iriſh* came and drove away a great part of
" your ſtock to a village near. It being night,
" you deſired me to take your ſervants, and en-
" deavour the recovery; which I did, bringing
" with me two or three of the chiefeſt conduc-
" tors of that rabble. This enraged the *Iriſh* ſo
" much, that you conceived I was not ſafe there;
" and therefore ſent me to *Dublin*, to attend the
" juſtices orders, and aſſure them of your readi-
" neſs to return on a call, they ſending a convoy,
" which they promiſed to do as occaſion required.
" When I went from you, you thought it neceſ-
" ſary that I ſhould take with me, all the poor
" *Engliſh* that were ſaved; and to let them go
" with the carts, which were loaded with wool
" for *Dublin*; leaving only one of them, who
" was a ſadler, then my lord of *Antrim*'s ſervant.
" In the paſſage, near *Rathcoll*, the rebels fell
" upon them, and barbarouſly killed ſome, and
" wounded others: myſelf and one more eſcap-
" ing by the goodneſs of our horſes. But a
" ſervant of mine governing the carts, and be-
" ing an *Engliſh-man*, they took; and whilſt
" they were preparing to hang him, ſir *John*
" *Dungan*'s eldeſt ſon, *Walter Dungan*, came
" forth from his father's houſe with a party,
" and reſcued him with the reſt of thoſe that
" were left alive, and brought them ſafe to
" *Dublin*, where I was got.

" In a few days after, the marqueſs of *Ormond*
" ſent out a party towards the place where this

" murder

" murder had been committed. I went with " them, and coming near, we met ſir *Arthur* " *Loftus*, governor of the *Naas*, with a party of " horſe and dragoons, having killed ſuch of the " *Iriſh* as they met.

" But the moſt conſiderable ſlaughter was in " a great ſtraight of furz, ſeated on a hill, where " the people of ſeveral villages (taking the alarm) " had ſheltered themſelves. Now ſir *Arthur* " having inveſted the hill, ſet the furz on fire " on all ſides, where the people (being a conſi- " derable number) were all burnt or killed, men " women and children.— I ſaw the bodies and " furz ſtill burning.

" The ſadler that I had left in my lord of " *Antrim*'s ſervice, ſome time after met me, com- " plaining, that coming from *Dublin* he had " been taken by the rebels, by means of a boy " that ſerved your lordſhip, and if I would not " give him forty ſhillings (being damnified " ſo much) he would complain. I told him " that the boy he mentioned was no ſervant " of yours, but kept for charity, and to whip the " dogs out of doors; being blind of an eye, " and lame of a leg. He replied, that altho' he " was blind and lame, he had a note from my " lord of *Antrim*, to have him apprehended by " thoſe that were neither blind nor lame; which " he gave to them, who took him priſoner, and " carried him to the gariſon of *Leixlip*, kept by " the rebels. I bid him do what he pleaſed; " for I would not give him one farthing.

" The

" The next I heard of it, was, that he had " complained; and that your lordſhip was indic- " ted for high treaſon. Upon which I made my " addreſſes to the lords juſtices again, to let them " know, they had not kept their words with me, " in ſuffering this clandeſtine proceeding againſt " my brother; but however, I would go and " fetch you; and to that purpoſe deſired them " to let me have a party of horſe, but that they " refuſed. I then came down to you with ſome " of my friends, and acquainted you with what " had paſt: You anſwered, that you knew " nothing of it, and went immediately with me; " where you addreſſed yourſelf to my lord of " *Ormond*, as I did myſelf in your behalf to the " lords juſtices and council, to acquaint them " that you were come. They replied, that they " could ſay nothing to it 'till you appeared be- " fore them, which you did the next day; and " then they ordered you to come the day fol- " lowing; at which time, without calling you " in, they committed you to Mr. *Woodcock*'s " houſe, one of the ſheriffs of *Dublin*.

" Now, I ſeeing this rigorous uſage towards " you, with ſuch bloody doings on all ſides, and " having been refuſed a paſs for myſelf to go to " *England*, made a ſhift to go away in a ſmall " boat, and go directly to the king at *York*, and " petition him, that you might be ſent for over " to be tryed here by your peers. But his ma- " jeſty's anſwer, was, that he had left all the " affairs of *Ireland* to the parliament. Upon

" which

" which I went to *London*, and petitioned the par-
" liament to the ſame effect. Their anſwer was,
" That they could do nothing without the king,
" of which I gave you an account by letter.
" This was the laſt correſpondence I had with
" you, being after that continually ſerving his
" majeſty in *England*. But the king coming
" from *Newark* to *Oxford*, he ſent me with diſ-
" patches to my lord lieutenant, and ordered me
" to go to you and uſe my endeavours to per-
" ſuade you to haſten a peace. You received
" the commiſſion very agreeable, ſaying, That
" from the beginning of the war you had always
" laboured for a peace, and that you hoped it
" would ſoon be done. Before I returned I ſaw
" it proclaimed.— And it goes by the name of
" *The peace of forty-ſix.*"

*London, July* 6, 1683.

Thus you have ſeen by my brother's letter, how, and upon what account I was made a priſoner by the lords juſtices, and no hopes left me of any relief from either the king or parliament of *England*; but was after twenty weeks impriſonment ordered to be removed from the ſheriff's houſe to the caſtle. This ſtartled me a little, and brought into my thoughts the proceedings againſt the earl of *Strafford*, who confiding in his own innocence, was voted out of his life, by an unprecedented bill of *attainder*. Beſides, I heard nothing almoſt whilſt I was in priſon, but rejoicings at the king's misfortunes, and the ill ſucceſs

of his arms, then engaged in actual war with his rebellious ſubjects in *England*. The lords juſtices and moſt of the council, were too plainly of the parliament faction, and the marqueſs of *Ormond*, whom I knew moſt faithful to the king, fell deſperately ſick of a fever, not without ſome ſuſpicion of poiſon, and was then given over by his phyſicians. Hereupon I weighed well my own circumſtances, and concluding, that innocence was a ſcurvy plea in an angry time, I reſolved to attempt an eſcape, and ſave myſelf in the *Iriſh* quarters, which I effected in this manner.

After the battle of *Kilruſh*, there was one *George Ledwidge*, an *Iriſh* trooper, of the marqueſs of *Ormond*'s army, left wounded at my houſe; who being recovered (in acknowledgment of kindneſs received) often viſited me in priſon. I found ſo much fidelity in this man towards me, that I truſted him with my deſign, and deſired his aſſiſtance. The trooper overjoyed to hear I had that confidence in him, declared he was ready to venture his own life to ſave mine, and would value no danger to free me from that reſtraint. With this, I immediately gave him money to buy me three horſes for myſelf and two ſervants, with ſaddles and piſtols, and ordered him to have them ready at a certain place, againſt next morning. This he punctually performed, and the night following, juſt as the maid was to ſhut the door, it being ſomewhat dark, I ſlipt into the ſtreet, leaving my two men in the houſe, and appointing them where they ſhould find me in

the

the morning. About nine of the clock they came out of the houſe, and bid the maid make no noiſe, pretending I was not well, and had not reſted that night. They no ſooner came to me, the guards of the town withdrawn, and the patrols come in, but I ſent them before with the trooper's ſon to get our horſes ready; the trooper and myſelf ſoon following; but I, as his man, carrying a ſaddle under my arm. To be ſhort, we mounted all on horſeback, marched as troopers careleſly out of town, and took our way by *Temple-Oag*, thro' the mountains of *Wicklow*, towards *Kilkenny*. But before dinner my eſcape was diſcovered by the people of the houſe, and on notice given to the lords juſtices, I was purſued by a party of horſe, taking their way to my houſe, at *Maddingſtown*. In the night they inveſted it, but not finding me (after they poſſeſſed themſelves of what they could find) they killed many of my ſervants, and burnt my houſe: this I ſaw as I paſſed by, and had notice by the way, that *Caſtlehaven* alſo was ſeized by the *Engliſh*, and all I had there pillaged and deſtroyed.

On my arrival at *Kilkenny*, I found the town very full, and many of my acquaintance, all preparing for war. To this end they had choſen amongſt themſelves, out of the moſt eminent perſons, a council, to which they gave the title of *The ſupream Council of the confederate Catholicks of Ireland*, and formed an oath of *aſſociation*, by which all were bound to obey them. They had made four generals for the

reſpective provinces of the kingdom; *Preſton*, of *Leinſter*; *Barry*, of *Munſter*; *Owen Roe O Neil*, of *Ulſter*; and one *Bourke*, of *Conaught*; and being to give commiſſions, they cauſed a ſeal to be made, which they called the ſeal of the council.

I was ſent for to this council to tell my ſtory, where I gave them a particular account of my adventures; and being aſked, what I intended to do? I anſwered, to get into *France*, and from thence into *England*. Hereupon they told me their condition, and what they were doing for their preſervation and natural defence, ſeeing no diſtinction made, or ſafety but in arms; perſuading me to ſtay with them, as I was beloved in the country, had three ſiſters married amongſt them, was perſecuted on the ſame ſcore they were, and ruined ſo, that we had no more to loſe but our lives. I took two or three days to think of this propoſition, and to examine the *model of government* they had prepared againſt the meeting of the general aſſembly, and moſt particularly their oath of *aſſociation*, which was as followeth.

## The Oath of *Aſſociation*.

"I A. B. do profeſs, ſwear, and proteſt before "God, and his ſaints and angels, that I will, "during my life, bear true faith and allegiance "to my ſovereign lord *Charles* by the grace of "God, king of *Great-Britain*, *France* and *Ire-*"*land*, and to his heirs and lawful ſucceſſors: "And that I will to my power, during my life,

"defend,

" defend, uphold and maintain, all his and their
" juſt prerogatives, eſtates and rights, the power
" and priviledge of the parliament of this realm,
" the fundamental laws of *Ireland*, the free ex-
" erciſe of the *Roman Catholick* faith and
" religion, throughout this land; and the lives,
" juſt liberties, poſſeſſions, eſtates, and rights of
" all thoſe that have taken, or that ſhall take
" this oath and perform the contents thereof:
" And that I will obey and ratifie, all the or-
" ders and decrees made and to be made, by the
" ſupream council of the *confederate Catholicks* of
" this kingdom, concerning the ſaid public cauſe:
" And I will not ſeek directly or indirectly any
" pardon or protection, for any act done, or to be
" done touching this general cauſe, without the
" conſent of the major part of the ſaid council:
" And that I will not directly or indirectly do
" any act or acts that ſhall prejudice the ſaid
" cauſe, but will to the hazard of my life and
" eſtate, aſſiſt, proſecute and maintain the ſame.
" Moreover I do farther ſwear, that I will not
" accept of, or ſubmit unto any peace, made, or
" to be made with the ſaid *confederate Catholicks*,
" without the conſent and approbation of the
" general aſſembly of the ſaid *confederate Catho-*
" *licks*. And, for the preſervation and ſtrength-
" ening of the *aſſociation* and *union* of the king-
" dom, that upon any peace or accommodation
" to be made, or concluded with the ſaid *confe-*
" *derate Catholicks* as aforeſaid, I will, to the ut-
" moſt of my power, inſiſt upon, and maintain

" the

" the enſuing propoſitions, until a peace, as " aforeſaid, be made, and the matters to be a- " greed upon in the articles of peace be eſtabliſh- " ed and ſecured by parliament."

*So help me God, and his Holy Goſpel.*

Having ſpent ſome time on theſe thoughts, and at laſt taken my reſolution, I returned to the ſupream council, thanked them for their good opinion of me, and engaged myſelf to run a fortune with them. Whether anger and revenge did not incline me to it, as much as any thing elſe, I cannot certainly reſolve. This I well remember, that I conſidered how I had been uſed, and ſeen my houſe burning as I paſt by; beſides that I was a light man, with no charge, and without any hopes of redreſs from the king, who was then engaged in the inteſtine war. Now being thus a confederate, and having taken the oath of *aſſociation*, they made me one of the council, and general of the horſe under *Preſton*.

The firſt aſſembly met the 24th of *Oct.* 1642. It differed little from a parliament, but that the lords and commons ſat together. They approved, without delay, all the council had done, and ſettled a *model of government*, viz. That at the end of every general aſſembly, the ſupream council ſhould be confirmed or changed, as they thought fit. That it ſhould conſiſt of twenty-five, ſix out of each province, three of the ſix ſtill reſident; the 25th was myſelf, with no relation to any province, but to the kingdom in general.

Every

Every province had a provincial aſſembly, which met on occaſions: and each county had commiſſioners for applotting money within themſelves, as it came to their ſhares, on the general applotment of the province. Many other things there were as to government, but theſe are the moſt remarkable.

The general aſſembly being ended, the ſupream council ſent envoys to the king of *France*, Mr. *Rochford*, and after him Mr. *Geofrey Barron*: To the king of *Spain*, F. *James Talbot*, an *Auguſtine Fryar*: To the pope, firſt, Mr. *Richard Belling*; after him the biſhop of *Ferns*, and Mr. *Nicholas Plunket*. Beſides thoſe they had reſidents with all theſe princes, but they were generally churchmen.

The king of *France* firſt ſent them in return Mr. *La Monarie*, to whom ſucceeded Mr. *Du Moulin*, and after him Mr. *Talloon*. The king of *Spain* firſt ſent Mr. *Fuyſot*, a *Burgundian*, to whom ſucceeded the count of *Beerhaven*, after him *Don Diego de'los Torres*. The pope ſent one *Starampo*, prieſt of the *Oratorian* order, who remained 'till the coming of *Rinuccini*, arch-biſhop and prince of *Fermo*, in quality of *Nuncio*. All this while the generals were not idle, and mine took in *Burras*, *Fertfaulkland* and *Birr*, in the king's county; where I was with him, and had the good fortune to begin my command in the army, with an act of charity; for going to ſee the gariſon of *Birr*, before it marched out, I came into a great room, where I found many people of quality, both men and women.

They

They no ſooner ſaw me, but with tears in their eyes, they fell on their knees, deſiring me to ſave their lives. I was aſtoniſhed at their poſture and petition, and having made them riſe, aſked what the matter was? they anſwered, that from the firſt day of the war, there had been continual action and bloodſhed between them and their *Iriſh* neighbours, and little quarter on either ſide; and therefore (underſtanding that I was an *Engliſh-man*) bogged I would take them into my protection. I knew there was too much reaſon for their fears, conſidering they were to march two or three days thro' the woods of *Iregan*, and waſte countries before they came to *Athy*, their next friend gariſon. I went therefore to the *general* immediately, and got to be commander of their convoy, and to make ſure, I called out 300 foot and 200 horſe, in whom I had moſt confidence, and carried off the people, who were at leaſt 800 men, women and children, and tho' ſometimes attacked, I delivered them with their baggage ſafe to their friends.

Our next undertaking was on the 5th of *Oct.* 1642, Col. *Monke* (ſince made duke of *Albermarle*) having relieved *Ballynikill*, a caſtle in the queen's county; general *Preſton* overtook him near *Timachoo* in his retreat, and preſſed him ſo, that he was forced to fight. In number they were pretty equal, about 1500 horſe and foot each, without cannon: but the buſineſs was ſoon over, and not many killed before we were routed: And, had the enemy purſued (it being a plain country

country, and no garison near) we had certainly lost most of our foot. This check made us pretty quiet 'till towards the spring following; then the marquess of *Ormond*, lieutenant general of the *English*, marched from *Dublin*, at the head of 3000 horse and foot, and some cannon, and coming thro' the county of *Wexford*, besieged *Ross*, a considerable town, seated on the river *Barrow*. To relieve this place, general *Preston* hastened with an army of 5 or 6000 horse and foot, but no cannon; and having sent 1500 men, commanded by lieutenant general *Purcell*, into the town, he marched himself to *Temple-Wodigan*, about two miles from *Ross*, the principal pass by which the marquess of *Ormond* must retreat, if he raised his siege; as he did soon after the succour got in; and finding *Preston* before him in battle, knew not well what to do, being in an enemies country and scant of provisions. The pass was at least half a mile thro' a bog, where no more than four horses could march in a breast, with water in some places up to the belly. But *Preston* had not the patience to expect the enemy's coming to him, which they must do or starve, but went over this pass to them, and put himself under as great disadvantage as his enemy could wish. The marquess of *Ormond* took hold of this unexpected advantage, and gave *Preston* no time to form his army into battle, but charged still as they went over, besides what he did all along with his cannon; 'till at length (after a considerable loss of men killed

and taken priſoners) we were wholly routed and defeated.—This goes by the name of, *The battle of Roſs*, fought *March* 18, 1642.

The marqueſs being returned to *Dublin*, jealouſies and diſcontents broke out between him and ſome great ones there, which gave *Preſton* leiſure to raiſe another army, and beſiege the aforeſaid *Ballynekill*; where having intelligence that Col. *Crawford* was beſieging *Ballybrittas*, a caſtle belonging to the viſcount *Clamnaleer*: he ſent me with a party of 1500 horſe and foot to relieve the place; whereupon *Crawford* drawing off, in paſſing the river *Barrow*, had his thigh broke in a ſkirmiſh with a muſket ſhot. As *Ballynekill* was ſurrendred, I returned and conveyed that gariſon too, as I had done the other at *Birr*, ſafe to their friends.

After this I remained at *Kilkenny* with the ſupream council, and *Preſton* with his army went into *Weſtmeath*; of whoſe abſence the enemy's gariſons in the county of *Carlow* and *Queen's* county taking advantage, they alarmed the county of *Kilkenny* to the very gates of the city. To oppoſe theſe I was commanded by the council to gather what forces I could to ſuccour and ſecure the country. I quickly got together about 2000 men, with ſome pieces of cannon; and tho' the enemy retired, yet I marched on to *Ballynury*, in the county of *Carlow*, and took both *that* and *Clohgrenan*; where the county of *Wexford* regiment mutinied, but being ſoon reduced, and ſome examples made, ſerved well for the future.

I marched thence to the *Queen*'s county and beſieged *Ballynehenan*, commanded by the *Grimes*, a valiant people, with a ſtrong gariſon: But a great breach being made, when we expected they would ſurrender, word was brought us, that a ſtrong party was coming by the way of *Athy* to relieve them. I was not well at the time of this alarm, but lay upon my bed in my tent; yet made no great matter of it, knowing the ſuccour could not be conſiderable. But the viſcount *Mountgarret* being abroad, he ſent me word they were coming on in great haſte, and ſtronger than I thought, both in horſe and foot, and were then near the end of the *Tougher*; which was a great way cut through a bog, and I believe about half a mile in length. Now I had a ſtrong guard of horſe and foot at my end of the *Tougher*, with a line thrown up before them; ſo that I judged the danger was not great: however, I got on horſeback with 400 horſe; and as I came to my guards, ſeeing ſome of the enemy on the *Tougher*, in their march towards us, I commanded them to follow me to meet the enemy, thinking to have fought them upon the *Tougher*; but they ſeeing us advancing, retired and (while I was paſſing the *Tougher*) formed on a plain two muſket ſhot off again; but when they perceived I was preparing to charge, they drew off again and did not ſtand me 'till they had got thro' a gap, in a ditch, with water up to the belly; which having paſſed, they lined the ditch with muſqueteers, drawing up their horſe and foot cloſe by

to defend the gap. Sir *Walter Butler* with his ſquadron begun the fight; but he being wounded in the ditch, with a pike thro' his thigh, his men fell off, and a ſecond ſquadron charged and did the like. But the enemy ſeeing more ſquadrons coming on, they took their advantage in the ſmoak to run away, which we could not ſee 'till the ſmoak was over. Then we followed but could not engage them 'till they recovered *Athy*, which was not far off. I gueſſed them to have been about 300 horſe and about 7 or 800 foot. Their ſuccour being thus beaten in their view, the beſieged gariſon yielded on condition to march out with their arms. While this place was putting in order, I went with a party of horſe to *Beleadams*, a caſtle about a mile diſtant, belonging to ſir *John Bowen*, provoſt-marſhal, an old ſoldier, and my long acquaintance. I ſent to ſpeak with him, and after ſome kind expreſſions, told him, I muſt put a gariſon into his caſtle. He flatly denied me, and calling for his wife and two very fair daughters he had, deſired only one favour, that in caſe I was reſolved to uſe violence, I would ſhew him where I intended to plant my guns, and make my breach. I ſatisfied his curioſity, and aſked him what he meant by this queſtion? becauſe, ſaid he (ſwearing with ſome warmth) I will cover that part or any other your lordſhip ſhoots at, by hanging out both my daughters in chairs. 'Tis true the place was not of much importance; however, this conceit ſaved it.

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All this while my lord of *Inchiquin* was maſter of the field in *Munſter*, having won ſome battles, beat the *Iriſh* in all parts, and in a manner ſubdued the whole province to four or five towns; and with theſe too he was now going to work, beginning with *Kilmalock* in the county of *Limerick*, having ſet down before it with an army of 7000 men. This alarmed the general aſſembly then ſitting at *Kilkenny*, but moſt particularly thoſe of that province, who after many councils among themſelves, concluded at laſt, to aſk ſuccour of the general aſſembly, tho' they ſaw but little hopes of any in that exigency, for *Preſton* was far off with the army. Wherefore opening themſelves more clearly than perhaps they would have otherwiſe done, they laid claim to me, as having my earldom and eſtate in their province, tho' I was an officer of *Leinſter*: alledging further, that their *general* was old and unfortunate, and that if I had the command, all would join in the defence of their country, and take new courage. I was preſent at this propoſition, and tho' I had ambition and vanity enough, yet having no proſpect of ſucceſs I thanked them for their good opinion of me, but heartily oppoſed their motion. But my lord *Muſkry*, ſince made earl of *Clancarthy* (my great friend and of that province) deſired the aſſembly to command me by virtue of the oath of *aſſociation*. This they did, and ordered that my commiſſion (under the ſeal of the confederates to command in chief for that expedition) ſhould be immediate-

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ly diſpatched. I ſubmitted, and being aſked what troops were near at hand? I anſwered, I knew of none but of my own life-guard of horſe; 'tis true, I had obſerved many ſtraggling horſe in town, but they would not be brought together without money. Some money was then given out, and by ten of the clock the next morning I had engaged about eighty horſe, and put them under the command of *Garret Talbot*, brother to ſir *Robert Talbot*: Theſe with my life-guard, commanded by captain *Fitzgerald*, commonly called *Garret Garrough*, made in all 120 horſe, and with them I marched, accompanied with my lord *Muſkry* and ſome others of the province, to the frontiers of *Munſter*, where I met about 120 horſe more, moſt of them gentlemen, and formed into a ſquadron. But at *Caſhel* I was received by the *general* of the province, *Barry*; lieutenant general *Purcell*; and ſome other officers with 700 foot. That night I had intelligence, that the lord of *Inchiquin* had raiſed his ſiege, and marched with 4 or 5000 men into the county of *Kerry*, but had ſent ſir *Charles Vavaſor* with 16 or 1700 horſe and foot to take in *Cloblea*, a caſtle then belonging to the *Condons*; I marched immediately towards him, and before night encamped within three miles of him, a mountain only between us. My brother *Richard Butler* of *Kilcaſh*, brother to the now duke of *Ormond*, was ſent out the ſame night to diſcover the enemy, and in the morning word was brought to us, that the caſtle was taken, the

gariſon, after quarter given, put to the ſword, and my brother engaged. On this I loſt no time, but marched in all haſte with my horſe to his ſuccour; which joined with his made but 240 or 250 at the moſt. The foot marched after, but the old *general* moved ſo ſlowly, that I had defeated the enemy before he came within two miles of the place.—— The manner thus.

Sir *Charles Vavaſor*, tho' he had taken the caſtle, remained ſtill in his camp, 'till ſeeing me, on the top of the mountain above him, come to ſuccour mine that were ſkirmiſhing, he drew to arms; but being amongſt hedges and ditches, and the caſtle between us, I could not come at him, 'till he marched towards *Caſtle-Lyons*; where, in a large plain he drew up his men: but I going by the advantage of a great valley, came into the plain unſeen, almoſt as ſoon as he; and having ordered three or four ſquadrons of boys on horſeback to poſſeſs the ground from whence I came, I loſt no time in the charge, and quickly defeated his horſe, who, to ſave themſelves, broke in on the foot, and put them into diſorder: their cannons were uſeleſs, being paſt the black water. This (with God's bleſſing) and a great ſhower of rain gave me the victory, with little or no loſs. Sir *Charles* that commanded, with ſeveral other officers, remained priſoners; their cannon and baggage taken, and all their foot defeated; but their horſe, for the moſt part, eſcaped.—— This happened on a *Sunday* the 4th of *June* 1643.

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Now having left the beſt advice I could for the improving this advantage I took leave of the general, with others of the provice, and returning to *Kilkenny*, gave the *aſſembly* an account of what had paſt, in order to their future commands. Soon after the *aſſembly* being broke up, and a ſupream council choſen to govern in their abſence, I returned to *Kilcaſh* (my brother *Butler*'s houſe) to reſt myſelf. The council went to *Roſs*, and whilſt they were there, a trumpet brought them a letter from the marqueſs of *Ormond*, letting forth his being appointed by the king to hear our grievances, and to treat for an accommodation. The trumpet was quickly diſpatched with ſome ſlight anſwer; which coming to my knowledge, I repaired to *Kilkenny*, where the council was returned; and on information, finding what I had heard was true, I ſent for ſir *Robert Talbot*, ſir *Richard Barnwell*, Col. *Walter Bagnell*, and ſuch others as were in the town well affected, and leading men in the *aſſembly*, tho' not of the council, and having acquainted them with what I underſtood, I told them, if they would ſtick to me, I would endeavour to give it a turn. We all agreed on the way, which was to go to the council then ſitting, to take notice of the king's offer and their return, and to mind them, that the conſideration and reſolutions concerning peace and war, the general aſſembly reſerved wholly to themſelves; and therefore to require that they would ſend immediately a trumpet of their own, with a letter to

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the marqueſs of *Ormond*, giving him to underſtand, they had iſſued ſummons for a general aſſembly, in order to acknowledge the king's gracious favour, in naming him his commiſſioner, to hear and redreſs our grievances. This we put in execution, and gained our point without much reſiſtance.

The marqueſs of *Ormond* being thus brought into a treaty, the confederate commiſſioners met at *Suganſtown*, near the *Naas*, as his excellency had appointed, in order to a ceſſation of arms. At which time all parties laboured to get what they could into their poſſeſſion. Col. *Monke* (after made duke of *Albemarle*) marched into the county of *Wicklow* to take in the harveſt, and poſſeſs ſome caſtles there. I was commanded by the council to make head againſt him; and having rendevouzed my troops, conſiſting of about 3000 horſe and foot, at *Ballynekill*, in the county of *Carlow*, notice was brought me, that Col. *Monke* was marching away in haſte to the aſſiſtance of the lord *Moore*, then facing *Owen Roe O Neil*, near *Portleſter*. Finding therefore now I had nothing to do, I thought it worth my while to endeavour the taking in *Dollarſtown*, *Tully*, *Lacagh*, and other caſtles in the county of *Kildare*, between the rivers of *Barrow* and *Liffee*. I began with *Dollarſtown* (a place about a mile from *Kilcae*, where I had a garriſon) and marched from my camp with 3 or 400 horſe, and about 300 foot; and coming before the place in the evening (for it was no more than

ſix or ſeven miles) I ſent a trumpet to the maſter of the caſtle, Mr. *Dade*; who had been long of my acquaintance. The gentleman immediately came to me upon ſummons, and I gave him reaſons why he ſhould put the place into my hands.

He conſented; but as the men, appointed to gariſon the place, were marching towards it, one lieutenant *Burres*, who came but that afternoon from *Athy*, debauched the ſoldiers within, and perſuaded them to ſhut the gates, and bid me defiance. This I ſaw was no fault of the gentleman, whom I kept with me that night, and lodged at *Kilcae*; but I immediately diſpatched an expreſs to *Kilkenny*, for three good battering pieces. Next morning I returned to my camp at *Ballynekill*, and the day following my guns being come as far as *Carlow*, I ſent in the evening a party of horſe and foot, with orders before day to inveſt the place. The morning following I arrived myſelf, with the reſt of my forces and the cannon, and without ſummoning began to batter: And having made a breach, ſtormed the place, and ſet fire to the gates; but the gentlemen's wives and ſome others were ſuffered firſt to come out. The reſt, eſpecially Mr. *Burres*, and his comrades, ſuffered as they deſerved.

Having maſtered this place, in the evening I diſpatched a party of horſe and foot to inveſt *Tullagh*, which they did before day. In the morning I arrived myſelf, and having planted my guns, ſummoned the place, and had it yield-

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ded by ſir *George Wentworth*, then governor, on condition, that both horſe and foot might march out with their baggage.

Having thus taken this caſtle, and left a gariſon to ſecure it, I encamped on a heath called the *Curragh* of *Kildare*, from whence I ſummoned all the caſtles thereabouts, and had them yielded; only whilſt I was thus encamped, Col. *Chidley Coote*, governor of *Lacach*, came to me, and tho' he had nothing to ſecure his return, yet, on conditions I let him go; and after appearing before his place, had it according to our agreement.

This done, I repaſſed the *Barrow* at *Munſter-Even*, marched into *Leix*, and took three or four ſmall places. But as I was going on I had advice from the commiſſioners at *Suganſtown*, that they had on the 15th of *September* 1643, concluded a *ceſſation of arms* with the marqueſs of *Ormond*, to which I ſubmitted.

After this, a treaty went on for a peace, and in a ſhort time all was agreed, except a ceſſation for churches, and the ſplendid exerciſe of religion, as in *France* and *Spain*. This was much inſiſted upon by the confederate commiſſioners, and as reſolutely refuſed by my lord of *Ormond*, who alledged that the king (by agreeing to ſuch an article) might endanger the loſs of his whole party in *England*; and in truth it would have ſignified little to the confederates; for their ſecurity, chiefly conſiſted in keeping up the king, and having force enough in their own hands,

which would have been ſufficiently left them, tho' 20,000 of their men had been ſent into *England*, along with the 10,000 men of my lord of *Ormond*, ſent out of *Leinſter* and *Munſter* of the *Engliſh* troops in thoſe provinces. For at this time as all agreed to the *ceſſation*, except the *Scotch* in *Ulſter*, ſo they would have ſubmitted to any peace, that ſhould have been concluded between my lord of *Ormond* and the *confederates*; and thus united, the *Scots* and the reſt of the parliament party, would have been ſoon forced to a ſubmiſſion. It was certainly a great folly, and a prodigious inſtance of blind zeal in the *Iriſh* clergy to ſtand thus out with the king, after ſuch repeated profeſſions of loyalty, and ſo many battles loſt by their *generals* in the four provinces of the kingdom, who had not all this time, gained one ſingle victory from the beginning of the confederacy, nor any colour of ſucceſs, but what little advantages I gained, as you have already ſeen.

Beſides, it was very viſible that the *confederate Iriſh* could ſubſiſt no longer than the war laſted between the king and parliament; and if upon any terms the king and they agreed, whether he forced them to a ſubmiſſion, or was forced to comply with their inſolent demands, as there was no poſſibility for the *Iriſh* then to hold out, ſo they could not in reaſon expect any mercy from either; but major general *Monroe* ſome time before arrived in *Ulſter* from *Scotland*, with 10,000 new *Scots*, to whom ſir *Robert Steward*

*Steward* joined, with 5 or 6000 of the old *Scots*, natives of that province; and alſo ſome *Engliſh*, under the command of ſir *Audley Mervin*, ſir *Theophilus Jones*, and others, would not ſubmit tot his *ceſſation*, but forced general *O Neil* to ſuch great ſtreights (who had been but a little time before defeated by that party, in the encounter where *Con O Neil*, and many others were killed) that in the beginning of the winter (leaving his troops and *Ceareaghts* to ſhift the beſt they could for themſelves) he came to the general aſſembly, held at *Waterford*; where he ſet forth the lamentable condition of his people, deſiring the aſſiſtance of the other three provinces, and, in the name of his own province, undertaking to join to their forces 4000 foot and 400 horſe; but withal declaring, that otherwiſe he, with his forces and *Ceareaghts*, ſhould be obliged to ſave themſelves in the other provinces. This laſt point of *Owen O Neil*'s ſpeech (beſides their perſuaſion, that the *Scots* would not fail ſoon to follow and viſit them) made the aſſembly come to a quick concluſion, and agreed to ſend 6000 foot and 600 horſe out of the other three provinces. But it coming to the queſtion, who ſhould be the general of this army, they went to the election after this manner; The aſſembly ſitting, thoſe they thought fit to come in competition, they cauſed their names, one under another to be written down, and from each a long line to be drawn; then at the table where the clerk ſate, every member of the *general aſſembly*, one after another, with a pen puts a

daſh

daſh on the line of him that he would have to be *general*; and to the end that none ſhould mark more than once, four or five were choſen out of the aſſembly (two of which were biſhops) being upon their oath to overlook this marking. Now contrary to *Owen O Neil's* expectation, who had deſigned this generalſhip for himſelf, by which he would be *generaliſſimo*, I happened to be choſen, which *Owen Roe* took extreamly to heart, as I have reaſon to believe. However he carried it fairly, and came to congratulate and wiſh me good ſucceſs; giving withal great aſſurances of his performance, and readineſs to ſerve me to the utmoſt of his power. Next day a commiſſion was ſent me with orders to prepare all things for this expedition; which I did, and made ſome enquiry into the matter. But the farther I looked into it, the worſe I liked it; for I conſidered I was now to make a war, not only in a country where we had never been, but where we had not ſo much as one city or walled town, and the enemy had many.

That by all intelligence, I found the *Scot* could draw into the field 16 or 17000 men. That if *Owen O Neil* ſhould perfom, and deal fairly with me, yet all I was to expect did not exceed ten thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe. That having no towns in *Ulſter*, we ſhould be forced to bring all our proviſions from the other provinces, where I had my magazines. That I muſt depend upon *Owen O Neil* for intelligence; for by ſuch lights I always guided myſelf in my

my former ſmall undertakings. But that which moſt of all troubled me, was, that I did not ſee how I could avoid a battle, if the enemy had a mind to it; as I was to make an offenſive war. I had alſo this conſideration to diſcourage me, that altho' our parties had commonly the better, yet our army had always the worſt. This was experienced in ſeveral battles and rencounters; and the reaſon thereof was clear and obvious. For moſt of all the great towns in the kingdom were the enemy's, and gariſoned; and of the few we had, there was none but *Kilkenny* would receive a gariſon. So that at our leaving the field in winter, as the enemy returned into their gariſon, where they were with their officers kept in diſcipline, ours were diſperſed all over the kingdom, into little villages, and odd houſes, never ſeeing an officer 'till the next campaigne. And therefore came to their rendevous in the beginning of every field, like new men half changed. And for the horſe, they were ſo haggled out in riding up and down to ſee their friends, that they ſeemed hardly able to draw their legs after them; and both horſe and foot with ruſty arms not fixed: But how plainly ſoever I ſaw my ill condition, I muſt *thro'* as well as I could; yet withal reſolving to avoid a battle with all poſſible means, and ſeek to make my war by parties and ſurprizes. Now having time enough before the campaign, I was commanded by the *ſupreme council*, to march into *Conaught*, to reduce ſome of our own party, which

which had ſet up for themſelves in the county of *Mayo*, and were poſſeſſed of *Caſtle-carrow* and *Caſtle-barr*, the former commanded by one *Bourk*, the latter by the lord *Mayo*. I took with me 2000 men, paſſed the *Shannon* at *Fort-Faulkland*, and by the marqueſs of *Clanrickard*'s permiſſion, marched thro' his country. Theſe caſtles made little reſiſtance, and being yielded, I ſent my party under the command of ſir *James Dillon*, into the county of *Roſcommon*, to reduce the *Armeſby's* and ſome others that held gariſons there, and would not ſubmit to the *ceſſation*. When he had done this work, which he had quickly diſpatched, he returned into *Leinſter*, and lodged the troops as he was ordered. But I went ſtreight to *Kilkenny*, to put all in order for the next campaign ; yet ſtill with ſome miſtruſt of *Owen O Neal*'s performance. Wherefore I deſired and prevailed with the council to grant me 400 horſe and dragoons more, in caſe I could raiſe them, as I did, without charge to the country.

The firſt rendevous I made in order to this field, was about midſummer 1644, at *Granard*, in the county of *Longford* ; where I had appointed 3000 horſe and foot, with two or three field pieces to meet me ; intending there to have expected the coming up of the whole army ; which might be in four or five days time ; for *O Neil* was near encamped at *Portleſter*, and the reſt marching as ordered. My ſpies that met me at this rendevous, and came in haſte, agreed, they had left the enemy near a certain mountain,

threeſcore

threeſcore miles off; that they were 17000 ſtrong, with one and twenty days proviſion, no cannon nor other baggage, and were ready to march. I thought myſelf pretty ſecure for that night; but before day one from *Cavan* (which was but twelve miles diſtance) aſſured me he had left the whole army of the enemy there, and that their horſe and dragoons would be with me in the morning. On this advice I packed off as faſt as I could, and gained *Portleſter*, having ordered the reſt of the army to come thither; and at that inſtant commanded a Col. with 5 or 600 foot and 100 horſe to defend the bridge of *Fienaugh*, that I might not be purſued: It was of ſtone, and a caſtle on our end. I ſent with him ſhovels, pickaxes and ſpades, with plenty of ammunition.

The enemy, according to my intelligence, came at ſun-riſing into the camp I had left, and ſhewed themſelves the next day before that bridge: but my unfortunate colonel ſent over his horſe to ſkirmiſh; and when they were far enough out, on a ſudden the enemy mingled with them, which was the cauſe our foot could do nothing, but thro' fear to kill their own, left bridge, caſtle and all, free for the enemy. However it availed them little, for finding me well poſted, tho' *O Neil* was of an other opinion, their proviſions ſhrunk, and being at leaſt twelve days march from their own country, they ſtayed not to give me further trouble, but haſtened homewards.

I was now at leiſure to call on general *O Neil*

for his 4000 foot and 400 horſe, being reſolved to follow the enemy, and try my fortune in *Ulſter*, as I was deſigned. He excuſed himſelf, by reaſon of the continual alarms in his country, that he could not at preſent make good his word; yet aſſured me, that as ſoon as I came into the province, I ſhould have no reaſon to complain. On this aſſurance, I marched on with my 6000 foot, and 1000 horſe and dragoons; and *O Neil* joined with me about 200 horſe and 3 or 400 foot; his *Ceareaghts* marching with us, and drew me on as far as *Toineragaoh*; where having intelligence that the enemy had revictualled themſelves, and were returning to encounter me, I preſſed *O Neil* very hard to make good his word; but he plainly told me, he could not do it; alledging that his people were all amongſt the *Ceareaghts*, and every one looking to ſave what he had. In this ſad condition I blamed my own weakneſs, that I was perſuaded with fair promiſes to come ſo far into an enemy's country, and with ſuch a handful of men, to oppoſe a powerful army; however, I was reſolved to ſee the enemy, then encamped at *Dromore-Iveagh*; and therefore taking ſuch guides as *O Neil* would give me, and leaving the command of the camp to him, in the evening I marched with my 1000 horſe and dragoons, and 1500 foot towards *Dromore*. Theſe I left on a paſs about three miles from my camp, to make good my retreat, intending to fall with my horſe

horſe into their horſe-quarter. But whether witingly or willingly in my guides, it was ſunriſing when I came within two miles of their horſe-quarters. Nevertheleſs, tho' I loſt my deſign, yet ſtill I was reſolved to ſee my enemy. And to this end (perceiving ſome of their horſe at graſs) I drew up my men under a hill, near a little river, where there was a ſtone bridge, and ſent a party to take thoſe horſes; which they did, and brought them to me. But the enemy's guard of horſe being near, after my horſe were come back, ſeized the bridge and defended it. I ſent men to beat them off, but it would not do; then I ſent another party, the ſame ſtill. During this diſpute, I perceived a party of foot coming over a great plain; then I galloped down myſelf, with ſome officers and more horſe, and forcing the bridge, I had the cutting off that party of foot, and took their commander, captain *Blare* priſoner: Whilſt this was doing, a party of mine purſued the horſe that ran from the bridge; but before they overtook them they were met with another, which rooted them; and others of mine put them alſo to flight. In ſhort, before this bickering ended, moſt of the horſe on both ſides were engaged; the enemy at laſt drew off, and ſo did I to my army.

Being returned to my camp, I acquainted *O Neil* with what had paſſed: and how the enemy's army were advancing, according to my intelligence. Whereupon he adviſed me to retire to *Charlemont*, a fort where he had a gariſon. I

followed his advice, and found it a very good poſt, there being a very large plain joined to it; on the one ſide runs the *Black Water*, and near the fort a bridge over it, the reſt ſurrounded with bogs and mooriſh grounds. My horſe lay encamped at *Benboarb*, on the other ſide of the river. At the ſame time that I came into this place, *Monro*, with his army arrived at *Armagh*, about two or three miles diſtant, and there encamped and fortified themſelves. Thus neither of us being able to engage the other, we lay in a pretty good correſpondence, and the ſmall war we had was chiefly in cutting parties and convoys.

During this idle time I went often to ſee my horſe-quarters, and being one day merry with the officers, ſeveral ſoldiers came about us, and in a pleaſant way, I aſked them what they would give to come to a days work with the enemy? they anſwered, they would be glad of it, if their doublets and ſkins could be made proof againſt the launces of the *Scots*, of which they had many ſquadrons. Having found this apprehenſion, I paſſed off the diſcourſe, and that night diſpatched an expreſs to *Wexford*, where I had a magazine, to bring me thence ſo many defenſive arms as might cover two ranks of my horſe; which being come, and every day finding more difficulties, I reſolved to march away; for my proviſion came much harder to me than the enemy's did to them; and *O Neil* began to be very weary ſometimes of aſſiſting me with cows; ſo that after two months I reſolved the endeavouring

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to gain my own country, ſeeing no hopes of any forces from *O Neil*. Which to effect (for I did not deſire fighting) I cauſed a *Tougher*, or great way to be cut thro' the bog, near the *Fort*, leading to *Toineragaoh*, by which the enemy's proviſions came. Having finiſhed this way, and knowing their days, I took time to paſs over moſt of my horſe and ſome foot, ſhewing them beyond the *Tougher*, as if that night I intended ſtreight for *Toineragaoh*, paſſed over the bridge with the whole army, leaving my cannon and baggage in the *Fort*, with a ſtrong gariſon, plenty of ammunition, and all the proviſion I could poſſibly ſcrape to put in. That night I marched and all the next day, taking a great round before I could have my own country on my back, which having obtained in the county of *Cavan*, I faced towards the enemy, about five or ſix miles from them; which *Monro* underſtanding, and finding I lay eaſier for my proviſions than he did for his, raiſed his camp and marched home.

It being now late in the year, and *Monro* retired, I ſent a party of horſe and foot to bring off my cannon, and what I left in the *Fort* of *Charlemont*, and ſo marched to *Fineagh*; where I met commiſſioners from the *ſupreme council*, to receive the army, and lodge them on the three provinces, together with 1500 *Ulſter-men*, who, on my orders, came to me out of *Conaught*, being of no army, but endeavouring to live by ſtrong hand, which I would not admit. Thus ended the *Ulſter* expedition, like to be ſo fatal to

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the confederate catholicks of *Ireland*, thro' the the failing, or ſomething elſe, of general *Owen Roe O Neil.* But after all, the three provinces had no reaſon to complain of this campaign, for this army they ſent kept them from being troubled either with *Scots* or *Ulſter* people that year.

Having thus left the army with commiſſioners, on muſter above 8000 ſtrong (for I had been recruited with ſeveral companies) I took my way to *Kilkenny*, ill pleaſed that the treaty of peace was delay'd ſo long; and deſigned not to ſtir from the council 'till I ſaw it concluded. But coming there, I found the *ſupreme council* in great conſternation; for the lord *Deſmond*, governor of *Duncannon*, which commanded the harbour of *Waterford*, was declared for the parliament; as alſo, my lord *Inchiquin* in *Munſter*, who before had not only ſubmitted to the *ceſſation*, but ſent a conſiderable number of his troops, and himſelf followed ſoon after into *England* to ſerve the king, where having ſome diſguſt, as it is ſaid, becauſe the Preſidency of *Munſter* was given to the earl of *Portland*, he returns and declares for the parliament, commanding by their commiſſion as Preſident of *Munſter*. Theſe of *Waterford* eſpecially preſſed the taking of *Duncannon*, making great offers to the council of large aſſiſtance: *Preſton* is named for this work, it being within his province, and is ſent thither with 3 or 4000 men, miners, and a good train of artillery. I had the curioſity to ſee this ſiege, and will relate the particulars, becauſe the only one in form I ſaw in *Ireland*.

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He made no line of circumvallation, fearing no ſuccour that could come on the land ſide; but began his approaches with two attacks, and being come near the place joined them with a line of communication; and then ran them on, divided to the ditch before the rampier; for it had no counterſcarpe or baſtions, but was fortified in reddant. Thoſe within made a good defence, and loſt nothing in ſix weeks, only the beſiegers had made a lodging on the edge of the ditch. At this time two or three parliament frigates arrived with ſuccour of men, ammunition and proviſions, and came to anchor within leſs than cannon ſhot of the *Fort*. But before they could man out their boats, ſo terrible a ſtorm aroſe, that in 8 or 10 days none could come a ſhore. Whereupon thoſe within being in de pair, and preſſed with want, were forced to yield.

All this while my lord of *Inchiquin* over-run *Munſter*, and coming to *Caſhell*, the people retired to the *Rock* where the cathedral church ſtands, and thought to defend it. But 'twas carried by ſtorm, and the ſoldiers gave no quarter; ſo that within and without the church, there was a great maſſacre, and amongſt others more than twenty prieſts and religious men killed. Towards the ſpring the *ſupreme council* ordered me to go againſt *Inchiquin*, and to begin the field as early as I could. The enemy in this province had always been victorious, beating the confederates in every encounter, having never received

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any check, but in that I mentioned at *Cloghleagh*: So that every gentleman's houſe or caſtle was gariſoned, and kept the country in awe. To begin therefore this field, I made my firſt rendevous at *Clonmell*, and the army encamped not far from it. Thither came *Dean Boyle*, now lord chancellor of *Ireland*, and then married to my lord *Inchiquin*'s ſiſter; his buſineſs was to perſuade me to ſpare *Doneraile*, and other houſes and caſtles not tenable. I anſwered, that I deſired it as much as he, tho' hitherto they had annoyed the country, equally as if they had been ſtrong. I told him in ſhort, I had orders to take all I could, and ſuch as I thought not fit to gariſon, to deſtroy; yet if he pleaſed to cauſe the gariſons to be drawn out, and by letters from the owners to put them into my hands; I would appoint ſome few men unto them with commanders, in whom I moſt confided, and would make it my buſineſs to intercede to the council to preſerve them. The *Dean* and I parted good friends: But whether he could prevail or no, with my lord *Inchiquin* or the owners, I know not; but I heard no more from him.

Soon after, that is, about the fifth of *April* 1645, I marched to *Caperquin*, my army conſiſting of about 5000 foot and 1000 horſe, with ſome cannon; and having viewed the place, I ſoon perceived where they miſtook that beſieged it the year before, and after much time ſpent with great loſs of men, were forced to quit it: There being a town and a caſtle that commanded

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it, they attacked the town, and I on the contrary, the caſtle, which yielded; the town could not reſiſt; *Dromanne* likewiſe fell into my hands. Whilſt I was ordering theſe places, a trumpet came to me from the lord *Broghill* (ſince made earl of *Orrery*) to let me know that he was on the great *Coney-warren*, near *Liſmore*, where he ſhould be glad to ſee me. The trumpet preſſed my anſwer, but I kept him with me, and immediately marched towards my lord; but upon my coming near, he drew off, and marched away.

From thence I wrote a letter to the commander of *Liſmore*, a houſe of my lord of *Cork*'s, I think one major *Poer*, to endeavour to perſuade him to put that place into my hands, and gave him many reaſons, why I deſired its preſervation, as if it were my own. But he anſwered, that his honour was above all; that he would hold it to the laſt, and doubted not of timely ſuccour; ſo I left major *Poer*, and marched to *Mitchilſtown*, which after ſome ſhot of cannon, was ſurrendered. Then having intelligence that 6 or 700 horſe were come over the *Black-water*, marching towards me, and at that time drawn up on a hill, in the great plain of *Roche*'s country; I marched with the army towards them, not knowing but that my lord *Inchiquin* might be near with his forces. But theſe horſe, when we were all in ſight retired, whereupon lieut. general *Purcell*, with ſeveral other officers and gentlemen of the country, who had viewed them near at hand, came galloping to me, ſaying, that the enemy

were packing away, and preſſed me to let him have my horſe; for they had them ſo ſure, that they could not poſſibly eſcape. I made ſome difficulty of the matter, but they ſaid it was becauſe I knew not the country; yet I knew ſo much, that yielding to their deſires, I ſhould be expoſed in a great campaign country, with an army of foot and cannon without horſe. Nevertheleſs, after all (which I count certainly amongſt my other follies) I ſuffered myſelf to be perſuaded, and they marched away with my horſe in great haſte. I followed ſlowly, and coming to the *Black-water*, near the *Ford* of *Fermoy*, drew my foot and cannon into an old *Dane's Fort*; *Ireland* being full of 'em: and having ſtayed there a good while, and hearing no news of my horſe, I began to be uneaſie. But remembering that I had a guard of horſe on ſome Beef that was for the proviſion of the army, I ſent for them, and at the ſame time unexpectedly came to me *Garret Garrubh*, with my old life-guard of horſe out of *Leinſter*; theſe and thoſe, making in all about one hundred; having firſt ordered 1500 foot to ſtand in readineſs, I marched with them to ſee what became of the troops ſent with *Purcell*; and finding by the track that my horſe had paſſed the *Ford*, and taken their way towards *Caſtle-Lyons*, I followed. Being come near the top of the hill, above the *Ford*, I left theſe few I had with me drawn up, and with ſome officers went myſelf to a hight to diſcover. Then I ſaw all the enemy formed in a great plain, with a

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ſcrub of wood before them, and my horſe in haſte marching thro' to charge, having with them 100 commanded foot. But the enemy ſeeing the ſquadrons broken as they came on the plain, gave them no time to form, but charged and defeated them.

On ſight of this diſorder, and the enemy purſuing, when they came near me, I advanced, crying out to my own men, that they ſhould rally behind me. The enemy ſeeing theſe freſh horſes, and not knowing but the army might be near, purſued no further, but drew up. The 1500 foot that I ſent for ſoon came to me; on ſight of which, the enemy retiring to *Caſtle-Lyons*, I followed; but it being now duſk, I could not engage them. Hence I marched to *Mallow* and took it, but with ſome ſhot of cannon, and left a gariſon in it. *Donerail* and *Liſcarrol* made no reſiſtance. *Mill Town* ſtood out, ſo that I thought it would coſt ſome trouble. But whilſt the batteries were preparing, 2 or 300 boys belonging to the army that uſed to form themſelves in battalions, having got crows of iron, pickaxes, and other inſtruments, a little before ſun ſet, fell on the place, intending I ſuppoſe, only to have taken the cows and ſheep within a court, which was walled: But ſucceſs carried them further; and with the help of ſome ſoldiers, they took the caſtle by ſtrong hand. So all that ſide of the *Black-water* being cleared, I ſent the army for 15 days into quarters of refreſhment, and I went myſelf to *Kilmalock* and other places, where

I kept my magazines. In the mean time my lord *Inchiquin* having taken *Roſtellan*, beſieged *Ballymartyr*, a caſtle belonging to his uncle, *Edmund Fitzgerald*, ſeneſchal of *Imokilly*. My army being come together, I marched to ſuccour it: But there being a flood in the *Black-water*, I was hindered for two days, ſo that when I came in ſight of the place, I found it taken, burning, and the enemy retreating, ſome to *Cork*, others to *Youghall*, &c.

Having thus loſt my deſign of ſuccouring *Ballymartyr*, and that which I wiſhed moſt, engaging the enemy; I ſtayed two or three days encamped near this burnt caſtle, thinking what to do. At length I got intelligence that colonel *Henry O Brien* (brother to the lord *Inchiquin*) and lieutenant Col. *Courtney*, with ſeveral other officers were come by boat to *Roſtellan* to make merry; that the tide falling their boats were aground, and ſo would continue till high-water. On the certainty of this I loſt no time, but ſent immediately a party to ſeize the boats, lying more than a muſket ſhot from the caſtle, following as faſt as I could with the army. Which being come up, I preſently fell to the work, planted my guns on the batteries, made by my lord *Inchiquin*, not yet deſtroyed, and in the morning the place yielded on diſcretion. Hence I marched to *Caſtle-Lyons*, which after ſome battering yielded, I advanced towards *Liſmore*: But *Coney-Caſtle* lying on a paſs in my way, and ſending (on ſummons) a defiance, I encamped before it, thinking

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ing to plant my guns that night; but the boys eaſed me of that trouble, and before it was dark took it, as they did the former, by ſtorm. Hence I wrote again to the governor of *Liſmore*, to put that place into my hands, that I might turn the Army another way, having as much kindneſs for the owner as he could have; but not prevailing, I inveſted it; and having ordered the batteries, and lieut. general *Purcell* to command, and try if he could have better ſucceſs with that place now, than when he had formerly beſieged it; and ſo rode to *Kilkenny*, as not willing to be preſent at the deſtruction of a houſe, where I formerly had received many civilities. At my return, five or ſix days after, I found the place yielded, and the gariſon marching out. After this, being encamped at *Tallow*, intelligence was brought me, that colonel *Mac William Ridgeway* was gone from *Cork*, into the county of *Limerick*, with a great party of horſe and foot. I marched immediately with all my horſe, and 1500 foot ſtreight for *Cork*; coming near, I left my foot to make good my retreat, and about an hour in the night arrived near the gates, and put myſelf on the way to *Mallow*, by which *Mac William* was to return; and gently marching on, we met ſome of the enemy, whom we charged, and with little or no oppoſition, killed ſome and took others; but the night being extream dark, we could do no execution. In this blind ſcuffle captain *James Brown*, brother to ſir *Valentine Brown*, a brave gentleman,

gentleman, was ſlain. By the priſoners we found that their commander *Mac William Ridgeway* had been killed that day, by a ſhot out of a caſtle in *Roche*'s country. Which way they had taken to return with the body, we could not find. We marched a little forwards, but it being ſo dark that nothing could be done, I returned with my party to *Tallow*, and marched the army towards *Youghall*. All the caſtles on the way ſubmitted on eaſy terms: I will only take notice of one, becauſe of the accident, tho' I have forgot the name of the place; I remember it was a caſtle that yielded early in the morning without reſiſtance. Now, preſently after it was ſurrendered, the weather being very fair, I went a hunting, leaving Col. *Heneſey* to ſee the quarter made good; which was to march with their arms, bag and baggage. But the ſoldiers having been uſed to take places by ſtrong hand, and ſo enriching themſelves by plunder, would have done the like by this, tho' it had conditions. To prevent this out-rage, the colonel and ſeveral other officers went into the caſtle, joining with the gariſon in its defence: But the foot nevertheleſs fell on, and there was great ſhooting on both ſides. I wondered what the matter was, and fearing that the lord *Inchiquin* had attempted ſomething, I returned in great haſte. The ſoldiers ſeeing me coming ſooner than they expected, ran into the woods adjoining. When I came to the caſtle, and colonel *Heneſey* had related the matter, I made the gariſon march out according to their conditions.

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Then I began to enquire after my mutineers, and cauſed the trumpets to ſound and drums to beat, for drawing all to their arms: It was ſome time before the gentlemen could be brought together. And having at laſt put both horſe and foot in order of battle, I went from battalion to battalion, telling them their fault, and what the conſequence might have been, and concluded that they all merited death: Which they acknowledging, I added that ſome juſtice muſt be done, and aſked them whether they were content, for example-ſake, to deliver two out of each Battalion as it ſhould fall amongſt them by lots? They agreed; but when they came to be ſhot, I thought the number too great, and made them throw again for two only, which ſuffered.

But to return to our ſtory; from this caſtle I marched to *Youghall*, and encamped looſely before it, thinking to diſtreſs the place, and towards the ſea near *Crocker's* works, I ſent major general *Purcell* with 1500 men, and ſome ſmall pieces, to hinder ſuccour that might come by ſea. Whilſt this was doing, I went with a party in the night, and two pieces of cannon, and paſſed the *Blackwater* at *Temple Michael*, and before day had my two guns planted at the ferry-point, over againſt *Youghall*; and within leſs than muſket ſhot of two parliament frigates: at the ſecond ſhot one blew up, but ſome days after the enemy made a ſally from *Crocker's* works, and ill treated major general *Purcell*, taking one of his guns.

Now, by way of digreſſion, I muſt tell you that

that about this time (midſummer 1645) there arrived in the weſt of *Ireland*, *Renuccini*, archbiſhop and prince of *Fermo*, in quality of *Nuncio* ſent by pope *Innocent* the tenth, to the confederate catholicks, and coming near the coaſt was chaſed by a parliament frigate, commanded by one *Plunkett*; but as he was ready to board him, he ſaw his kitchin-chimny on fire; which to quench, he was forced to lye by, and ſo gave the *Nuncio* an opportunity of gaining the ſhore, to the great misfortnne of the confederate catholicks, and many other good and valuable intereſts.

Soon after this there came a fleet of boats, and larger veſſels, ſent by my lord *Inchiquin* from *Cork*, with ſupplies of men and proviſion, and ſuccoured the town; on which I marched off, and trifled out the remainder of that campaign, in deſtroying the harveſt; only a party of my men attempted to plunder the *great Iſland*, near *Barry's court*; but being ill guided in paſſing, and the ſea coming in ſooner than they expected, their deſign failed. Beſides there were of the enemy that oppoſed their coming on dry land, and captain *Thurlagh O Brien* was killed by a looſe ſhot out of a caſtle in the iſland.

Now it being the latter end of *November*, the ſnow falling, I retired to *Caperquin*, and commiſſioners being come to lay out winter-quarters for the army, I left it and repaired to *Kilkenny*, where I found the council in great debate, and much devided concerning the *peace*, which their commiſſioners had fully concluded with my lord

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of *Ormond* at *Dublin*, and wanted nothing but to have their agreements approved by the ſupreme council. Many days the diſpute held after my coming to them; and at length, we that were for the *peace*, finding ourſelves the greater number, preſſed the putting it to the vote; on which one of the contrary party, ſeeing it could not be refuſed, propoſed, that as we all pretended to be for the king, and differed only in the way of beſt ſerving him, to put us right, we ſhould do well, to deſire a certain *Engliſh* nobleman, then in town, and lately come from *England*, to give us his opinion in the matter, which he did in the afternoon, abſolutely againſt the peace, if the *Nuncio* did not approve it; which was not to be hoped for. Thus all our endeavours that were for it came to nothing, and I, for my part, immediately laid down my commands of *Munſter*, and would act no more. Many reaſons I had beſides this that drove me to deſpair; for tho' on the firſt *ceſſation*, if the *peace* had followed in any reaſonable time, we might probably have kept up the king; yet now the matter was much changed, ſince the coming of the *Nuncio*, and *Inchiquin*'s revolting with the *Engliſh* army, and the towns under his command from the king's authority, and declaring for the parliament. This, together with the underhand acting of the earl of *Glamorgan*, newly come from *England*, gave much trouble to the marqueſs of *Ormond*, in his endeavours for eſtabliſhing the *peace*. The earl of *Glamorgan* pretending large

commiſſions from the king, by colour of which he had entered into ſeveral ſecret treaties with the *Nuncio*'s party, very contrary to what the lord lieutenant had been doing, gave ſuch hopes to the confederates, that they would give no ear to what the lord lieutenant had propoſed. Beſides, the confederates ſince the arrival of the *Nuncio*, had fallen into great factions and diviſions, and amongſt others, began to renew the fatal diſtinction between the old *Engliſh* and antient *Iriſh*.

On my quitting the command of *Munſter*, the earl of *Glamorgan* (ſince made marqueſs of *Worceſter*) was choſen in my place, on promiſes that he would contribute out of his own purſe, great ſums of money towards the ſervice of that province In order to this, he gave great commiſſions for the raiſing many regiments, giving winter-quarters on the province with promiſe of ſatisfaction. But my lord *Inchiquin*, towards the ſpring, ſent along by ſea from *Cork* 500 foot and 150 horſemen with ſaddles and all ſorts of arms for horſe and foot; who entering the *Shannon*, ſeized *Bunratty* in the county of *Clare*, a caſtle belonging to the E. of *Thomond*, where he found a brave ſtable of horſes and mares, on which he mounted all his horſemen. The earl of *Glamorgan*, to keep in this gariſon, ordered ſome troops to *Six-mile-bridge*, between *Limerick* and *Bunratty*, but were beaten by that gariſon. The earl after this rendevouzed his whole army at *Clonmell*; to which rendevous, my lord of *Muſkry* came, and ſome difference falling out between thoſe two noble-

men

men, my lord *Muſkry* took the command of the army to himſelf, and with it beſieged *Bunratty*. To this ſiege the ſupreme council ſoon followed, the place held out five or ſix weeks; but not two days after the attack was changed to the ſide of the mooriſh land towards the *Shannon*.

I muſt now tell you that the lord *Inchiquin*, on the certainty of *Bunratty*'s being beſieged, and the whole army of *munſter* engaged, marched into the county of *Limerick*, and having no paſſage over the river *Shannon* to go to its ſuccour, thought by diverſion to oblige my lord *Muſkry* to draw off, by burning, plundering and deſtroying the country, even to the gates of *Limerick*.

In this city the ſupreme council ſat at that time, whither I coming by chance, they ſent for me, and having ſufficiently declared to me the ill condition they were in (for ſir *Charles Coot* was acting in *Conaught*, the ſame part that my lord *Inchiquin* played in *munſter*) they deſired my aſſiſtance, and prayed that I would head ſome horſe they had appointed to rendevous near *Cloghnotſy*, a houſe of ſir *Edmond Fitzharris*, ſeated in the mountain that runs between the counties of *Cork* and *Limerick*.

Theſe were but 500 old horſe, commanded by *Mac Thomas*, the reſt, which they reckoned 1500 more, were to conſiſt of gentlemen, and ſuch as they brought with them: I excuſed myſelf as well as I could, alledging, that ſince my quitting the command in *munſter*, I had laid aſide all thoughts of war, and that I came there as a paſſenger in my way to ſee the ſiege of *Bunratty*,

having neither equipage nor horſe for ſervice. but on their promiſes to furniſh me with theſe and other neceſſaries, I was at length overcome by their perſuaſions, or rather pity of their condition. My condeſcenſion was immediately publiſhed for the encouragement of the gentry; and the next day I went to the rendevous, where I found the 500 horſe with *Mac Thamas*, and as many gentlemen with their dependants, as made 500 more, which I immediately formed into ſquadrons, and drew againſt my lord *Inchiquin*, and kept as near him as I durſt; ſo that now he marched and encamped pretty cloſe. This laſted four or five days, 'till at length my lord *Inchiquin* finding this check hindered him from deſtroying the country, retired to his gariſons, and I went to the ſiege.

All this while a treaty of *peace* with my lord of *Ormond* went on, tho' much oppoſed by the *Nuncio*, and the *national congregation of the clergy* gathered by his orders at *Waterford*, where they met the four arch-biſhops, and moſt of the biſhops and heads of religious orders in the kingdom.

The *Nuncio* and this *congregation* went ſo far as to declare the confederate commiſſioners (treating with the lord lieutenant, and all others that ſhould ſubmit unto the peace in hand) perjured and forſworn, threatening them with thunders of excommunication in caſe of perſiſting. This, with ſome ſecret conceſſions, they had gained from the earl of *Glamorgan* in favour of their religion, not diſcovered 'till found in the arch-biſhop of *Tuam*'s pocket after he was killed

killed in a fight near *Sligo*, divided the confederate catholicks into two factions; the one called the *Nuncio*'s, the other, *Ormond*'s party. Yet notwithſtanding, the treaty went on, and concluded in an agreement, called, *The peace of forty-ſix*, which being proclaimed at *Kilkenny*, the lord lieutenant came thither, accompanied with many noblemen and others, beſides 1200 foot and 200 horſe as a guard. The ſupreme council received him with all due reſpect, and ſurrendered their government to him.

But this ſun-ſhine laſted not long, when the news was brought that thoſe of *Limerick* had rejected the *peace*, declaring for the pope's *Nuncio*, and affronted the king at arms, going to proclaim it; that *Clonmell* ſhut their gates on the ſame ſcore. General *Roe O Neil* being proud of a late victory he had gained over the *Scots* in *Ulſter*, declared alſo for the pope's *Nuncio*. *Preſton*, general of *Leinſter*, being at *Birr*, in the king's county, looked very cloudily, yet held correſpondence with the lord lieutenant, withal excuſing his attendance on pretence of ſome indiſpoſition.

The *Nuncio* being now at *Waterford*, at the head of the *national congregation*, and having by his threats of excommunication, thus broken us, the lord lieutenant by advice of the commiſſioners of truſt (which were men named by the confederates to ſee the peace obſerved) ſent me to try if I could perſuade the *Nuncio* to let the peace go on. But all I could do was in vain, he declaring

claring his reſolution to oppoſe it to the utmoſt, with other expreſſions relating to blood, not becoming a church-man.

Being returned, and having acquainted the lord lieutenant with what had paſſed, and ſeeing him ſtill fixed on his deſign of marching into *Munſter*, I was ſomewhat troubled; and finding colonel *John Barry* (a man in much credit with his excellency) at *Lucas Dillon*'s lodgings, I diſcovered to them my apprehenſions concerning my lord lieutenant's intended march into *Munſter*; by ſetting forth the malice I found in the clergy's party, and how they grew daily ſtronger by the revolt of troops and towns unto them; that *Owen O Neil* was a declared enemy, and at the head of a victorious army, and might certainly, if we marched further, cut our retreat; that the lord's party for number were not conſiderable, and that the ſupreme council were diſſolved on the proclamation of peace, and conſequently of no authority to make good the publick faith; with much more to this effect, concluding the march very dangerous.

They promiſed to diſcourſe this with the lord lieutenant; but whether they did or no, or if they did, whether his excellency would believe ſo much falſhood to be amongſt men, as was then deſigning againſt him, I cannot tell; but in two or three days after, he began his march for *Munſter*, and coming to *Carrick* (a houſe of his own) word was brought him there, that *Mac Thomas* had declared for the *Nuncio*, and was drawn up near

near *Clonmell*, with 3 or 400 horſe. I was ſent to him by his excellency, as thinking my intereſt might have gained ſomething on him, becauſe he had ſerved moſt of the wars under my command. When I came, and delivered him my meſſage, he anſwered, That he was engaged with the *Nuncio* according to his conſcience, and would not quit him. I acquainted his excellency with this anſwer, and added, that I ſaw no hopes of reclaiming this man; yet the lord lieutenant went on, and took his way towards *Caſhell*; *Mac Thomas* marching for the moſt part in ſight of us.

As we came near the town, and made ſome halt, his excellency received advice, I think from my Lord *Dillon*, reſiding at *Athlone*, that *O Neil* was marching againſt him with all the force he could make; whereupon my lord was pleaſed to call me to him, and telling me his intelligence, aſked my opinion, what was beſt to be done. I gave it quickly, that he ſhould immediately march back the ſhorteſt way, and endeavour to gain *Louglin-bridge*. This he did accordingly, but paſſing near *Kilkenny*, he ſent his brother, ſir *George Hambleton* and myſelf, to let the magiſtrates of that city know, what intelligence he had from all hands; however, if they pleaſed he would come to them with the party he had, and venture his fortune with them. They received the meſſage with all due reſpect, and anſwered, that if he pleaſed to come to them, they would ſerve him with their lives and fortunes, tho' they did believe it ſhould be the loſs of him and them together.

together. On our report his excellency kept on for the gaining *Loughlin*, where there was a bridge that croſſed the river *Barrow*, a fort at the end, on the county of *Carlow* ſide, commanded by colonel *Walter Bagnall*. Having gained this point, we loſt no time in our march to *Dublin*, where, coming near, I think the whole people of the city came forth to meet his excellency, with as much joy as ever man was received, having for ſeveral days judged him and his party loſt. As we came into the ſuburbs, his excellency honoured me with the carrying of the ſword before him thro' the city, for which I can give no other reaſon (beſides his own goodneſs) but that I had always been a promoter of the peace, and the only man of the confederate catholicks, that came with him, and never left him in theſe his adventures.

The *Nuncio* now thought all his own, committed to priſon ſuch of the late ſupreme council and others as he called of *Ormond*'s party, and having got his forces together, commanded by *O Neil* and *Preſton*, as generals under him, he marched them in one army (tho' for their better conveniency, they took two different ways) towards *Dublin*; they were noiſed ſo numerous, and ſo powerful, that in good earneſt, the people, officers and ſoldiers did not know what to make of it, and ſhewed apprehenſions enough. His excellency perceiving this, as it was too plain, called for me, and we diſcourſed the whole matter. I took the boldneſs to give my opinion, which

which was, That this army of the *Nuncio* could no longer ſubſiſt in any place than they found proviſions where they came; that neither of thoſe generals had any magazines during the war; that they undertook this matter in confidence of the plenty they ſhould find in his quarters; that I thought it was a thing of too great hazard to oppoſe them in the field, and yet if they were not ſtopped, they would come on, and at leaſt live upon him till they had eaten all: Laſtly, that on conſideration of the whole, I thought it beſt to prevent their coming too near, which could not be done by any other way, than by deſtroying the quarters. His excellency was of the ſame opinion, and therefore ſent orders immediately to all people within eight miles of the town to bring in whatever they had, giving them three or four days time for it, and what was found abroad after the day prefixed, particularly, forage and mills, parties were ordered to burn and deſtroy them. This was all effected before the *Nuncio* and his army were come to *Kilcullen-bridge*. Yet, notwithſtanding this diſcouragement, they advanced as far as *Leixlipp* and *Newcaſtle*; both which places lying within three miles diſtant of one another, and ſix from *Dublin*. They made their head quarters, *Preſton* at *Leixlipp*, and *Owen O Neil* at *Newcaſtle*, the *Nuncio* with his council remaining at *Suganſtown*, ſome ſix miles further off. But not being able to live long on the air; for from their own country they expected not much, and the continual rains

having raiſed the river Liffy, and all the bridges being broken, hindered what was coming to them: and great jealouſies (even more than the ordinary ones) ariſing 'twixt the two generals, and 'twixt the *Nuncio* alſo and *Preſton*, they returned ſeveral ways in greater haſte than they came.

The quarters being deſtroyed, and *Athlone* betrayed to the *Nuncio*, by *Dillon*, a fryar, and the harbour of *Dublin* blocked up by parliament men of war, the marqueſs of *Ormond* was forced to retreat: and of the two chooſe to apply himſelf to the parliament of *England*; during which treaty his excellency was forced to march into the county of *Weſtmeath* and other parts, to feed his people, where we were not much at our eaſe, for *Owen O Neil* continually alarmed us.

Now all being agreed for the delivery of the places, under the marqueſs's command, to the parliament commiſſioners, of which Mr. *Anneſley* (ſince made earl of *Anneſley*) was chief; I took my leave of his excellency, reſolving to go to *France*, tho' with much grief of heart to leave this noble lord, who had ſhewed ſo much loyalty, juſtice and ſteadineſs in his proceedings, during theſe tranſactions, even from the meeting in *Suganſtown*, to the concluſion of the peace, made with the confederates; and now again, to the giving up of his government to the parliament, for which, I doubt not, but he ſhall remain in ſtory, as he deſerves, a fixt ſtar, by whoſe light others may walk in his ſteps: this was the effect of breaking the *peace of forty-ſix*. And let the

failure

failure of that peace lye at whoſe door it will, 'tis no raſhneſs to ſay, that ſtory hardly mentions any one thing that had ſo fatal a conſequence. For if that *peace* had gone on, the king had preſently been ſupplied with great forces out of *Ireland*, both of *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*: and probably might have prevented the enſuing miſchiefs that ſhortly after happened, both to him, and to all his loyal ſubjects throughout his dominions.

The *Iriſh* had a more particular ill fate, than the reſt, by this breach of faith; but they ſoon diſcovered their error, and did, not long after, earneſtly endeavour to make amends, the beſt they could, by a ſecond and very ſolemn agreement, called, *The peace of forty-eight*; which their commiſſioners ſigned, and themſelves confirmed and ſealed with the blood of many thouſands of their beſt men, who loſt their lives to maintain it, refuſing in the mean time advantageous offers of peace (and that even to the very laſt) made to them by the parliament; yet ſince his majeſty's moſt happy reſtoration, all their eſtates (ſome very few excepted) do, by the act of ſettlement, remain with the conquerers.

The marqueſs of *Ormond* having performed agreements with the parliament, left *Ireland*, and after ſome time ſpent in *England*, went for *France*. At St. *Germans* he attended the queen and prince of *Wales*. But it was not long before my lord *Inchiquin* having ſome diſcontent given him by the parliament, entred into ſecret treaties with the lord *Taaff* (ſince made earl of *Carlingford*)

and other principal leaders amongſt the well affected *Iriſh*, who, ſince the rejection of the peace, had loſt two great battles, the one at *Dungan*'s hill, near *Lynch*'s knock, under general *Preſton*; the other at *Knocknanoſs*, under my lord *Taaff*: and looking on theſe great loſſes on their ſide, as heavy judgments of heaven to puniſh the late unparalelled breach of *faith*, they began to be as weary of the *Nuncio* as my lord *Inchiquin* was of the parliament. Wherefore, after ſome time ſpent in treaties between them, both parties concluded a *ceſſation of arms*. The *Nuncio* then at *Kilkenny*, did what he could to hinder this *ceſſation*, but not prevailing, retired in diſcontent to *Kilminchin* in the queen's county, a country intirely poſſeſſed by *O Neil*'s troops, who had fortified *Athy*, the *Fort of Leaſe*, and all other places capable of ſtrength, and provided what was needful. Yet the *Nuncio*, for all his haſte out of *Kilkenny*, did not omit to leave behind him an interdict on all places, and an excommunication againſt all perſons that ſhould adhere to the ceſſation of arms, made with my lord *Inchiquin*. But ſeeing this had no effect, after a time he left *Kilminchin*, and went to *Galway*; where finding the townſmen, for the moſt part, approving the ceſſation, he put a interdict on the churches and chapples there, cauſing the doors to be ſhut up; but the arch-biſhop of *Tuam* got them to be opened by force, which cauſed ſuch a buſtle, that a man or two were killed in the tumult.

The *Iriſh* and *Inchiquin*'s party, now in ceſſation

ceſſation of arms, they concluded to contrive the marqueſs of *Ormond*'s return, and upon his arrival to declare for the king. To this end agents were ſent from the confederates to *France*, viz. the marqueſs of *Antrim*, the lord viſcount *Muſkry*, and *Jeoffry Brown*, Eſq; who acted ſo effectually, that upon their offers, the queen and prince of *Wales* diſpatched the L. lieutenant for *Ireland*, and accordingly he ſhiped at *Havre de Grace*, in a ſtates man of war, and landed at *Cork*, myſelf and many others attending him. My lord *Inchiquin* was then with his army in the field, but came to him in a ſhort time. I went before to *Kilkenny*, whither his excellency came ſoon after, and a new treaty was ſet on foot between him and an aſſembly of the *Iriſh* then ſitting in town. But the matter being of great weight, the aſſembly uſed all means to be rightly informed of their condition, and therefore required the biſhop of *Ferns*, and ſir *Nicholas Pluncket* (lately returned from *Rome*) to declare faithfully what might be expected from the pope and court of *Rome*; they very ingeniouſly gave an account of all that paſſed in the negotiation with the pope and his miniſters, concluding That no aſſiſtance or ſupplies were to be expected from that ſide. Hereupon the aſſembly named commiſſioners to draw up ſuch articles as might be propoſed to the lord lieutenant in order to a peace.

After ſome days his excellency and the commiſſioners came to a full agreement, which the aſſembly

aſſembly approved, and it goes by the name of *The peace of forty-eight.* What agreement there was between his excellency and my lord *Inchiquin*, I know not; but am ſure that *Inchiquin* demanded of the lord lieutenant, and obtained all *munſter* for the recruiting and ſtrengthening his army. The peace of *Forty-eight* thus concluded, the *Nuncio* ſhipped himſelf for *France*, and ſo to his own country, after he had broken the confederacy, and impriſoned moſt of the ſupreme council, with others that would not ſubmit unto him; and alſo had been the cauſe of ſhedding the blood of many thouſands, ſlain in fighting his battles and parties; all which concluded with the extirpation of the *Iriſh* nation, together with the deſtruction of the catholick religion in that kingdom. And the ſatisfaction the confederates got by this diſorder, was, the *Nuncio*'s confinement to his arch-biſhoprick after the pope had checked him with theſe words only, *You behaved yourſelf raſhly.* From the excommunication the ſupreme council aſſembly in behalf of themſelves and the whole nation, appealed to the pope, and ſo it remains to this day.

But to my own ſtory; I am to tell you that in the peace of *Forty-ſix*, there was an article by which it was left to the confederate catholicks to name certain perſons for general officers, to whom the lord lieutenant was to give commiſſions.

Now, I having ſerved them long as has been ſeen, and the articles being confirmed in this *peace*

of

*of Forty-eight*, they named me, as they had done in the former, to be general of the horſe of the whole kingdom, which his excellency approved of, gave me his commiſſion accordingly, and ſoon after ſent me into the queen's county with 5000 foot and 1000 horſe, with ſome cannon to reduce the *Fort* of *Leaſe*, otherwiſe, called *Mary-Borough*, of *Athy*, and other gariſons, poſſeſſed by *O Neil*'s people. Thoſe troops for the moſt part were commanded by ſir *Thomas Armſtrong*, colonel *Treſwell*, and other *Engliſh* officers, men that had always followed the lord lieutenant's fortune; and had been recruited and reinforced out of their winter-quarters at *Kilkenny*, and ſome counties about it.

With theſe having well executed my orders and reduced thoſe gariſons, I marched to *Loughlin-bridge*, and there encamped, giving an account to his excellency of what had paſſed, and that I would expect there his further orders. But I was not many days before the lord lieutenant, the lord *Inchiquin*, lieutenant general of the army, the lord *Taaff*, maſter of the ordinance, mr. *Daniel O Neil*, governor of his excellency's guards of horſe, with other generals, and the whole army of my lord *Inchiquin*'s, and ſome *Iriſh* regiments joined us.

With this army, and a good train of artillery, we paſſed the river *Barrow*, and that night encamped in the county of *Carlow*, where ſomething paſſed in point of command that gave me ground to judge myſelf not well dealt with, beſides

ſides I was haraſſed by my marches and labours in the queen's county. In conſideration of which his excellency, at my requeſt, gave me leave to retire for ſome days to refreſh myſelf, and his excellency marched on and inveſted *Dublin*. I returned to *Kilkenny*, where, being arrived, I found the whole city in an uproar; the occaſion and iſſue of which take as followeth.

One father *Caron*, at that time commiſſary general of the *Recollects* all over *Ireland*, being in *Kilkenny*, to reform the abuſes of his *Order* there, was by the commiſſioners of truſt deſired to remove one *Brenan*, and ſix or ſeven more out of the *Franciſcan* monaſtery of that town, and ſend them elſewhere to be kept under diſcipline. Their reaſon was, that theſe men were notoriouſly known to be ſtill moſt violent ſticklers for the ways of the *Nuncio*, and that they made it their buſineſs to incenſe the people a-new againſt the peace, to alienate them from the government, and draw them wholly to *Owen O Neil*, who yet ſtood out againſt all agreement with the king.

To ſatisfie ſo juſt a demand of the commiſſioners, father *Caron* appoints a day for *Brenan* and his aſſociates to depart *Kilkenny*, and go to the ſeveral other convents, which he had appointed for them. And becauſe he found by their anſwers, they were reſolved not to obey him, the commiſſioners of truſt, upon notice thereof, more effectually reſolved to force their obedience to his commands, by ſending them away conducted by guards (yet by guards of *Roman Catholick* ſoldiers)

to

to the convents appointed them by their ſuperior. On this reſolution of the commiſſioners of truſt, *Brenan* and his refractory brothers, having timely notice, and ſeeing no remedy, but by the intereſt they had in the town, three or four of them being natives, as one by name *Rooth*, was brother to the major; beſides, confiding in the common people, whom they had already poſſeſſed with many lies, but above all perſuading themſelves that no catholick durſt attempt to violate the ſanctity of their habit, or the privilege of their profeſſion, by laying violent hands upon them; and proteſtants they knew very well there were none in the town. What do they conclude at laſt? even very religiouſly to raiſe dangerous tumults, and that by a moſt falſe and malicious invention.

When the day appointed was come, theſe unruly *regulars*, by themſelves and their emiſſaries, inform the heads of the rabble abroad, that the commiſſary and F. *Peter Welſh*, with five or ſix more of their company, had privately introduced a number of my lord *Inchiquin*'s proteſtant *Iriſh* ſoldiers into their convent, and cloathed them like fryars, on purpoſe to ſeize at night thoſe few religious men that remained unalterable in their obedience to the *See apoſtolick*; and either to draw them into the river *Neoir* that ran by their garden, or waft them over by boat, and put them to a more cruel death elſewhere, in ſome unknown place.

This lye did ſo inflame the meaner ſort in

the town and ſuburbs (already pretty well prepared by other malicious inventions) that upon a ſudden many of them forced their way into the monaſtry, curſing and exclaiming againſt thoſe that would turn away their friends.

Then arming themſelves with what came next to their hands, with all the fury imaginable, they attacked a little caſtle, whereinto the commiſſary with his company withdrew to ſave themſelves. At this time I came to town, accompanied by ſir *George Hamilton* and four or five gentlemen, with about a dozen horſe, three trumpets, and ſome footmen; and being informed of the matter, I galloped preſently with thoſe of my company to the place, had a charge ſounded, and fell among the rabble, and firing off piſtols, and crying, *kill, kill, kill.* The multitude hearing the trumpets, and ſeeing the fire (for it was now growing dark) and knowing my voice, were ſurprized, and thought themſelves betrayed, as knowing the army to be far off, in their march to *Dublin*, and therefore immediately routed and ran away; tho' they had brought them in the caſtle ſo low, that to ſpeak within compaſs, they could not hold out a quarter of an hour longer.

The fathers being thus relieved, after four hours defence, I enquired who governed this ſiege, and found that ſeven or eight fryars of the convent, and above all, the foremention*ed Brenan* and *Rooth* were the chief contrivers of this tumult. I ſent for theſe incendiaries, and whilſt I was reaſoning with them, the town-major, one

*Archer,*

*Archer*, with a hundred muſqueteers come to my aſſiſtance, and preſently followed the mayor and aldermen; whom after I had roundly rattled for ſuffering this diſorder, I commanded them to lay hold of thoſe fryars, and carry them priſoners to the caſtle. At which they ſtaggering, and this *Brenan*, a ſturdy fryar, preſuming to ſay, He would fain ſee what man durſt touch his habit; I laid hold on him, ſaying, *lies the enchantment there?* and then the mayor, town-major, and the reſt, carried them away priſoners to the caſtle as I had ordered.

Now after a while that I had diverted myſelf with hunting, and other recreations in the country, I repaired to *Limerick*; and while I ſtayed there, I cauſed all the people of that city and country (either by fair or foul means) to bring in what remained due to the king of their applotment, and got together about ten thouſand pounds, which I delivered to ſir *George Hamilton*, treaſurer of the army.

The lord lieutenant now wrote to the commiſſioners of truſt, ſitting at *Kilkenny*, to let me know that I ſhould now come to the army, and all difficulties concerning command ſhould be removed, to my ſatisfaction. I obeyed, and ſir *George Hamilton* and myſelf, with our ten thouſand pounds, went ſtreight to the army, which we found in their march, removing from the *Phœnix* ſide of *Dublin* to *Rathmines*, where they encamped.

But my lord *Inchiquin* ſoon after acquainted

his excellency, with ſome letters he had received from his officers in *munſter*, that *Cromwell* was to land in that country; which, if true, he feared all his towns would revolt, if not prevented by his ſpeedy repair thither, with all, or at leaſt the moſt part of his army, and deſired his excellency's conſent, that he might march away with 1100 horſe to ſecure the province. This his excellency imparted to me, which ſurprized me extremely, being ſure the whole was army too weak for the work in hand. Nevertheleſs, my lord *Inchiquin* marched away with his 1100 horſe, and you may imagine, many more; which in great meaſure, gave way to the defeat that ſoon after happened before *Dublin*.

Not long after this, *Cromwell* with his army landed at *Dublin*, marched to *Tredath* and took it (with all the towns in them parts) by ſtorm; and thoſe within (near 3000 men) he put all to the ſword. The lord lieutenant being not able to make head againſt him, retired with what troops he had to the county of *Kilkenny*, where my lord *Inchiquin* came to him, and in a ſhort time made up a pretty good army; for beſides my lord *Inchiquin*'s forces, many *Ulſter* regiments of foot joined them: *Owen O Neil*, having by this time (tho' too late for himſelf and the king's ſervice) come in upon articles, which he ſigned upon his death-bed, after he had been rejected by the parliament.

*Cromwell* having thus carried all before him about *Tredath*, returned to *Dublin* to refreſh his army;

army; yet ſtayed not many days, but took his march by the ſea ſide, thro' the county of *Wicklow* to beſiege *Wexford*. My lord *Inchiquin* was ſent to oppoſe him, and met him on the ſtrand toward *Glaſcarrick*, in the county of *Wexford*, and fought him, but was defeated.

The lord lieutenant being with his army come to *Roſs*, and fearing that *Wexford* (now beſieged) was not ſufficiently manned to hold out, 'till he had got an army together to raiſe the ſiege, or fight *Cromwell*; I, as knowning the town and country about it, offered to attempt the relief of it. His excellency accepted of my good will, and ordered me as many regiments of *Ulſter* foot as made 1500 men, and appointed 200 horſe to eſcort us. I took a great compaſs and came before day to the ferry, near ſir *Tho. Eſmond*'s houſe, called *Ballintreman*, who, as I remember, was along with me upon this expedition. Then leaving the horſe for my return, I paſſed that arm of the ſea in boats, and having delivered the foot to ſir *Edmund Butler* (the governor) I took the ſame way homewards as I came.

The town thus manned, was impregnable as to *Cromwell* by force; yet he took it by the advantage of a caſtle that was betrayed unto him, by the govenor, *James Stafford*. This caſtle was ſtrong, and ſtood about 3 or 400 paces from the wall. The communication with the town could not be cut, ſo that the danger was leaſt there, if treachery had not been in the caſe. But the caſtle being betrayed, it maſtere all that part of the wall,

wall, whereupon *Cromwell*'s forces entered, and made almoſt as great ſlaughter as at *Drogheda*.

The lord lieutenant then with his army, retired over the river of *Roſs*, and encamped on the county of *Kilkenny* ſide, from whence his excellency ſent me to *Paſſage*, in the county of *Waterford* over againſt *Ballyback*, to look after the relieving of *Duncannon*, beſieged by ſome of *Cromwell*'s people. I think *Ireton* commanded; and tho' there were parliament ſhips before it, I ventured one morning with a boat, and got into the place to the governor, a brave gentleman, one Col. *Wogan*, whom the lord lieut. ſometime before had ſent thither to command, and with him, beſides the *Iriſh* gariſon, about 100 *Engliſh* officers who had ſerved the king in the wars of *England*.

This gentleman from the higheſt part of the rampier, ſhewed me how the enemy lay, and after I had well conſidered all, I offered to ſend him that night by ſea 80 horſes, with ſaddles and piſtols, if he could mount them with ſo many of his *Engliſh* officers, and before day make a ſharp ſally with them and ſome foot upon the enemy. He liked the propoſal extremely, but doubted much my performance; it being about three miles by ſea. I deſired him to leave that to me, and aſſured him, he ſhould ſhortly be ſatisfied of what I undertook.

Having thus concluded, I took my boat, returned, and immediately ſet myſelf to my buſineſs, that I might loſe no time, becauſe the tide ſerved in the beginning of the night. And having

ing provided boats, I commanded 80 horſe to go to the ſea-ſide, cauſed them to be boated out of hand, and ſent them away.

They came all to *Duncannon* ſafe, and undiſcovered, all was executed as deſigned, great ſlaughter made, and the cannon ſeized; for the confuſion amongſt the enemy was great, by reaſon that they judged it the falling in of an army from abroad, ſeeing horſes come againſt them, and knowing of none in the fort: Our people retiring before day, the enemy raiſed the ſiege in the morning, and marched off.

His excellency after this, made me governor of *Waterford*; whither I went in with 1000 men, but the town would not admit them entrance. Whereupon, after ſeveral days diſpute, deſparing of ſucceſs, I marched away in the night. All this while the armies were not idle; for *Cromwell* after the reddition of *Wexford* came to *Roſs*, and making a breach, took it. There he paſſed the river, and marched thro' the county of *Kilkenny* to *Carrick*, and croſſing the river *Shure* into the county of *Waterford*, marched on into the county of *Cork*, where all my lord *Inchiquin*'s towns opened their gates to him. But *Cromwell* for his better ſecurity left colonel *Reynolds*, with a great party of horſe and foot in *Carrick*, to keep the town and bridge which is over the river *Shure*.

Towards the evening the lord lieutenant came to this place with his army, but before he attempted any thing, was called away, on an alarm,

that

that *Waterford* was in danger; and left the command of his army to my lord *Inchiquin* and lord *Taaff*, who immediately gave orders to ſtorm the place.

This was done with great valour, but wanting materials to make a breach in the wall, or to ſcale it, they were after ſome hours forced to draw off, having loſt ſome hundreds of men. I was preſent at this action, but few knew it. The more particular actings of the armies, I muſt leave to the relation of thoſe that know better, for I was ſeldom with them, but employed up and down, as you ſee. The perſons principally intruſted by the lord lieutenant, for the government of the army, were my lord *Inchiquin* and my lord *Taaff*, 'till the ſpring following:

Then *Cromwell* began to move again, having drawn his forces together, and had gained one captain *Tickle* to ſecure him a gate or two of *Kilkenny*, and to betray into his hands, the lord lieutenant, myſelf, and ſome others, when he ſhould think fit. The pleague ſtrangely ranged there at that time, as it had for a long while in our towns thereabouts; and *Cromwell* having left his gariſons in the county of *Cork* in good order, was advanced into the county of *Tipperary*, in his way to the ſiege of *Kilkenny*; I having nothing to do went early one morning a fox-hunting, as I was accuſtomed all the winter. The lord lieutenant joining me, ſaid, he would ſee what we did, and being a little further out of town, he began to tell me how he had diſcovered the

treachery

Treachery of *Tickle*, *Cromwell*'s approach, and his design to besiege this city. After some discourse, it was not long before my lord came to the point, and told me it was resolved in council, that he should immediately repair into the county of *Clare*, and from thence to the adjacent countries, and endeavour the raising of an army, to attend the motion of *Cromwell*; and that in his absence he should appoint me to command in chief in the province in *Leinster*.

Any man may judge how I was pleased with this honour; but my obedience (tho' I thought myself lost by it) obliged me to a submission, and cast myself at my lord's feet to dispose of me as he pleased: The commission, with all necessary Orders dispatched, his excellency with his generals, and *Commissioners of Trust*, left *Kilkenny*, and went straight to the county of *Clare*.

I lost no time in this juncture, but bestir'd myself with all possible diligence, making major *James Walsh*, governor of the castle, and sir *Walter Butler* of the city; and having done all I could to furnish it with men, provision, and ammunition of all sorts, I marched out myself, leaving the garison about 200 horse, and 1000 foot strong.

*Cromwell* was moving from *Cashell*, on his march to *Callen*: I went to *Carlow*, hoping to have met there such troops, from all parts of the province, as I had ordered, but was disappointed; for those quartered in the higher part of the dividend, under the command of the lord *Dillon*,

intirely failed, being about the number of 2500 foot, and 6 or 700 horſe, and in their ſtead I received a letter from his lordſhip, as if he were ſending them in great haſte, but they never came, tho' I often repeated my orders.

Theſe and ſome other troops not appearing, I knew not well what to do; for I had but 800 foot of the province, and an *Ulſter* regiment of 1200 more. Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, commiſſary general of the horſe, was with me, and his regiment, with the lord lieutenant's, commanded by colonel *Treſwell*, and ſome other troops, made up near 1000 horſe.

At this time an *Iriſhman* was brought unto me, taken by ſome of my guards, who, being to be examined, deſired to ſpeak to me alone; which being granted, he produced a piece of yellow wax, in form almoſt round, which he was to ſwallow on occaſion; within it there was a note from colonel *Hewſon* to *Cromwell*, intimating, that he, with his forces, were upon their march from *Dublin*, but deſired his orders, in reſpect that I lay in his way. Having copied the note, I rolled it in the wax as I had it; and the fellow having aſſured me of his return with *Cromwell's* anſwer, I let him go on his way. Within two or three days after he returned, and delivered me another piece of wax, as the former, with *Cromwell's* orders to *Hewſon* incloſed, which I kept; however, *Hewſon* held on his march, and paſſed the river *Barrow*, eight or ten miles below me.

Now, tho' I was not of ſtrength to meddle with

with theſe armies; yet I made ſome advantage of my intelligence: For whilſt they were joyning, I marched to *Athy*, a town with a bridge, eight mile above me, on the ſame river, where *Hewſon* had a magazine, with 700 men in gariſon, and coming before it an hour before ſun-ſet, I took it by ſtorm, with all the gariſon priſoners, at diſcretion. But the place not being tenable, I ſlighted it, and not knowing what to do with my priſoners, I made a preſent of them to *Cromwell*, deſiring him (by letter) to do the like to me, if any of mine ſhould fall into his power.

But he little valued my civility, for in a very few days after, he beſieged *Gowran*, where Col. *Hammond* commanded, and the ſoldiers mutinying, and giving up the place, with their officers, he cauſed *Hammond*, with ſome *Engliſh* officers, to be ſhot to death. And having thus gained *Gowran*, and cleared all other places in the county, he fell to work, and beſieged the very town of *Kilkenny*; whereupon I took my march to *Ballyraggett*, within ſeven miles of him; But finding myſelf too much expoſed there, I marched to *Oſſory*, and made my head-quarter in *Caſtle-Town* (a place belonging to Mr. *Fitz-Patrick*) whence I ſent to the lord *Dillon*, to come to me with all the forces he had. He gave me ſtill fair promiſes (as before) but never came. Then with the advice of ſir *Thomas Armſtrong* and colonel *Treſwell*, I reſolved, with my party, to enter *Kilkenny*, which was eaſy to be done, the ſide where the river runs being open. But when I came to my ren-

devous, my *Ulſter* regiment appeared not, but were marched away to their own country; alledging, they came to fight againſt men, but not againſt God. ——— Their meaning was, becauſe of the plague, which raged then in *Kilkenny*.

This deſign being thus broken, and a great breach made in the wall near the caſtle, which had been aſſaulted two or three times, and no hopes ever to be ſuccoured, I ſent orders to the governors to make conditions when they thought fit, and both to joyn at the ſame time, tho' the caſtle might hold out two or three days longer than the town.

*Cromwell* being thus maſter of *Kilkenny*, I retired into the king's county; where, underſtanding that *Carlow*-caſtle was beſieged, I appointed a rendevous, intending to attempt the ſuccour; but coming to the place, I found not half my foot, the reſt were marched into *Munſter*, I knew not by whoſe orders.

Now finding myſelf thus uſed, and reflecting on ſome other hardſhips put upon me ſince the *peace* of 1648, in deſpair of ſucceſs, I left *Leinſter*, and went to the lord lieutenant in the county of *Clare*, where I rendered him an account how I had been diſappointed, to the end he might do as he thought fit.

I had not been long there attending his excellency, when *Ireton* ſat down before *Limerick*, on the county of *Limerick*-ſide, leaving *Thomond*'s ſide open. His excellency repaired thither, and being come near the end of the bridge, he ſent to

the mayor, to let him know he was there with ſome troops, and ready to enter with him, for the defence of the place. The mayor having conſulted his brethren, made excuſe, as if he had no need of relief.

Several meſſages paſſed to and fro, 'till at length his excellency loſing all patience, declared unto them, That if they would not receive and obey him, he would leave the kingdom. But ſeeing all would not do, he called me aſide, and told me he was in good earneſt, and would be gone; but commanded me to ſtay, and keep up a buſtle as long as I could, it being the king's ſervice. I was very unwilling to ſtay behind, ſeeing he took with him, my lord *Inchinquin*, my lord *Taaff*, colonel *Daniel O Neil*, and others his friends. But the ſound of the king's ſervice, ſo charmed me, that I abandoned my own judgment and ſubmitted to what his excellency ſhould order.

He then gave me a commiſſion to be commander in chief of the province of *Munſter*, and the county of *Clare*, having already that of *Leinſter*, and of general of the horſe for the whole kingdom. Thus qualified, his excellency gave me poſſeſſion of his troops there in their arms; together, with his life-guards to ſerve me as they had done him, in all about 2000 foot and 1000 horſe. His excellency, for my better encouragement, aſſured me that he would leave a commiſſion for my lord *Clanrickard* to be lord deputy.

Now my lord being gone, and not ſuffering me

me to accompany him more than a mile, I went into the town, addreſſed myſelf to the mayor and aldermen, and told them how I was left, and aſked them, whether they were pleaſed with it, or would obey me in that ſtation? They took ſome time to conſult; but at length ſubmitted to my pleaſure. Whereupon, immediately I viſited their walls, and at the ſame time took a view of the enemy, whom I judged to be very looſe, and expoſed, if vigorouſly aſſaulted: And therefore reſolved, in the beginning of the night, to draw my troops into town, and a little before day to make a ſharp ſally. On what intelligence I know not, but *Ireton* raiſed his ſiege, and marched off that very night.

This done, I returned my troops to their quarters, and remained myſelf in the town, 'till I had ſent orders to all officers, commanding in the ſeveral provinces, and particularly, to my lord *Muſkry*, then in *Kerry*, whom I deſired to make himſelf as ſtrong as he could, and that I would ſoon be with him, to increaſe his forces. In order to this, I paſſed the *Shannon* in the night, about twelve miles below *Limerick* with 2000 men; and tho' the river was full of parliament ſhips, and two miles over, yet I had not the leaſt loſs, but landed ſafe in *Kerry*, near *Drumbeg*, took *Liſtowhill*, and marched 'till I came to my lord *Muſkry* at *Tralee*. Having acquainted his lordſhip with what had paſſed, and ordered what I would have done, particularly in raiſing of forces, I left my men with him, and returned to *Ennis*, my reſidence, in the county of *Clare*. From

From thence, after ſome refreſhment, I went to *Portumna* to viſit the marqueſs of *Clanrickard*, who bid me very welcome. After dinner, I deſiring to retire myſelf for an hour or two, he brought me to my chamber, and aſked whether it would not be troubleſome that he ſtayed a little with me? I anſwered no, but the contrary; for my point was to get him to take the government, by accepting the commiſſion left by the lord lieutenant; yet I ſpoke nothing of it, hoping that he would begin, which he did.

The paſſages on this ſubject are too tedious to be related; but before we parted, I got him to ſend to the commiſſioners of truſt, then ſitting at *Loughrea*, for his commiſſion, and declared, he would take upon him the government. Whereupon, to loſe no time, I gave him the beſt account I could of the forces in the kingdom, as well friends as foes: For he, during the war, had been no more than a ſpectator, beloved and reſpected of all, and might have ſo continued, had not his great loyalty drawn him to take up this commiſſion (which was little leſs than to ſacrifice himſelf and his) only to give the king time to try his fortune with *Cromwell*, whoſe armies were then near *Sterling* in *Scotland*, encamped not far aſunder, as the king's letters (brought by *Dean King*) to us imported. We agreed at this meeting, that his lordſhip ſhould immediately raiſe 1000 horſe, as an addition to the ſtanding forces in *Conaught*, and that I ſhould march with my 1000 horſe out of the county of *Clare*, by *Limerick*,

*rick*, to the *Silver-Miles*, in the county of *Tipperary*, and be at ſuch a day at the rendevous, where I ſhould meet with 1500 foot he would ſend me, and a good officer.

I complied punctually with my orders, and the mayor of *Limerick*, as I marched thro' the city, on demand, gave me 100 foot. The alarm of my march was ſoon known to ſir *Hardreſs Waller*, and my lord *Broghill*, both lying near *Kilmallock*, with great forces. They purſued me in all haſte, and I marched on to our appointed rendevous, but could hear no news there of the 1500 foot I was promiſed. Having loſt this anchor, I was put to my ſhifts, the enemies coming on, I had no other way but to truſt myſelf into the next faſtneſs, and ſave myſelf as well as I could; but there was a caſtle of the *O Meaher's* that ſtood in the way, poſſeſſed by the enemy, and there being no other paſſage, I ſent to the adjacent villages, and got together crows of iron, pickaxes, and whatelſe could be found neceſſary, and fell ſtorming of the caſtle, and in three or four hours took it. In this place I kept the 100 men I had from *Limerick*, to ſecure the paſs, and being now pretty ſafe, I lodged that night at my eaſe: here colonel *Fitz-Patrick* came to me, who had for ſome time kept in thoſe faſtneſſes, with a good party of foot and ſome horſe. My men being well refreſhed, I took the plain country, near *Burras*, and after entering the woods, at the foot of the mountain, *Sleave Bleauma*, I met ſir *Walter Dungan*, then commiſſary general of the horſe,

as was ordered. He brought with him only 300 horſe, and I, finding myſelf ſtill purſued with horſe and foot, beſides what were gathering round from all ſides, ordered ſir *Walter* to return from whence he came, and to ſtop all the forces I had ſent for, as well from *Ulſter* as *Lienſter*; thence with my 1000 horſe I marched into *Conaught*, paſſing by the bridge of *Athlone*, and poſted to *Loughrea*, where the lord deputy then was, with a general aſſembly ſitting in his houſe. At my coming into his chamber, I found about a dozen principal men of the aſſembly deputed to him, ſetting forth the deſperate condition of the nation, with the impoſſibility much further to hold out. Beſides, that there were now come to the town, Mr. *John Grace*, and Mr. *John Brien*, commiſſioners from the parliament, or their commander in chief, offering greater conditions than was reaſonably to be expected, as the caſe ſtood.

Whilſt this addreſs was making, my lord was glad to ſee me come in, and ordered them to repeat what they had ſaid. I ſeemed much ſcandalized at the ill timing of their propoſals, and therefore declared my diſlike to them. Then by my lord's permiſſion (weary and dirty as I was) I went down into the aſſembly (being a member, as a peer of the kingdom) and expreſſed my deteſtation of what they had in hand, demonſtrating, that if the 1500 men, commanded by Col. *Bourk*, had not failed to meet me, as they promiſed at the rendevous, I had probably now been maſ-

ter of the field; beſides, that the noiſe of a treaty would deſtroy all that could be hoped for from the endeavours againſt *Cromwell*. That his majeſty (as his own letter both to my lord deputy and myſelf, ſignified) made no doubt, if he could gain forty-eight hours march towards *England* before *Cromwell*, but his buſineſs was done; becauſe all were ready to join in his aſſiſtance; and therefore conjured us not to hearken to any treaty with the enemy. Then I ſet forth the ſtate of the forces of the kingdom on all ſides, and concluded very ſeverely againſt the two parliament commiſſioners; ſo that they haſtily packed out of town, and the aſſembly let the matter fall

*Reynolds* now beſieged *Tehcrahan* in *Meath*, and the lord deputy came to *Tirrell*'s paſs, about eight miles from it, with 2000 foot and 700 horſe; where a council of war being held, I propoſed that our horſe ſhould alarm the enemy, whilſt the foot attempted thro' the bogs to ſuccour the place: 'twas by all alledged impoſſible to be done; for coming near the place, there were two necks of land that did almoſt meet, and between them there was a great way, or *Tougher*, with a large ditch of water on each ſide, which muſt be croſſed, and that, in all likelihood, the enemy would plant their guns at both ends of this *Tougher*, and bring the ſtrength of their army to defend that paſſage, there being no other way; ſeeing we had no force to attack them on firm ground. I heard all this, and knew

it very well, yet did not agree to the impoſſibility of entering the place; and therefore addreſſing myſelf to the lord deputy, I begged pardon, if I gueſſed at the thoughts of the officers there preſent; which was, that I being general of the horſe, might well advance this undertaking, for I was to be with the horſe, and ſo to have no ſhare in the danger. But to ſhew the contrary, I deſired his excellency to give me the command of that party of foot, and I would venture to relieve the town, thro' the bog, while the horſe alarmed the enemy on the other ſide.

It being thus determined, I entered the bog, which was eight miles long, with my 2000 foot, and his excellency took his march with the horſe, as was agreed. Coming in ſight of this *Tougher*, the enemy was expecting us, as we had ſuppoſed; For they ſaw me marching from my firſt entering into the bog. Then I put my men into the beſt order I could, in three diviſions, two to attempt paſſing the *Tougher*, the third, commanded by one captain *Fox*, to ſtand ſtill, and face two or three battalions that were drawn on my right hand, fearing they would fall on my flank or rear. Then I marched on with my two diviſions towards the *Tougher*, but coming within ſhot, they racked me with their cannon, and great vollies of ſmall ſhot. Nevertheleſs I advanced ſtill, and my men fought it on the *Tougher*, with handy-blows, and theſe that defended it retired to their horſe, which ſtood drawn up at each end of the *Tougher*, on firm land. Seeing this going

ſo well, I looked back and ſaw my third diviſion (which was to ſtand ſtill) coming after me. I ran to it, crying to the officer that commanded, to attack the battalions, which he was ordered to look after.

On this, he turned to his men, and ſpoke ſomething in *Iriſh* that I did not know, and marched 2 or 300 paces in ſuch a faſhion, that I could not tell whether he intended fighting or runing away. At laſt he did run away, and all his party followed, which, when the two diviſions that had paſſed the *Tougher* ſaw, they marched on into the place, and I was left alone, only ſome gentlemen with me, and by the favour of the night (for now it began to be dark) I got off, and by the next morning returned to *Tyrrell's* Paſs. My lord deputy had all the ſtory before my coming, and got the captain ſecured that had cauſed this diſorder, who being tryed by a council of war, was condemned, and ſhot to death.

After this, *Ireton* knowing our weakneſs too well, and that we only kept a buſtle, till the king and *Cromwell* had decided their quarrel, he again ſat down before *Limerick*, with a powerful army, on the county of *Limerick* ſide. I marched with what forces could be drawn together, encamped at *Kilallow*, to obſerve his motions. He kept a guard on his ſide of the river, as I did againſt him at *Brien's Bridge* and *Caſtle-Connel*. We lay in this manner along time, he attempted nothing on the town or river, which was not fordable in any place.

The

The lord deputy was at this time at *Galway*, and writ to me in all haſte to come to him. On my arrival, he told me, That the abbot of St. *Catherine* was in the harbour, and in his company many officers, with a quantity of arms, ammunition, and other materials for war; that they were ſent by the duke of *Lorain*, who pretended by ſome agreement to be protector royal of the kingdom of *Ireland*, with power over all our forces and places, and to continue that title and dominion till after the war ended, and he reimburſed all his expences, and his damages ſatisfied. I was much ſtartled at the news; for tho' I ſtruggled to keep up a buſtle, yet I never intended to buy it ſo dear, as to give any footing, or the leaſt pretence or title to any foreign prince. And having heard out his lordſhip, I took the boldneſs to aſk him, how far he was concerned in this matter. He proteſted before God, and upon his honour, he never gave commiſſion for any ſuch treaty; and as to the thing, he knew no more than what he had told me, more than, that the general aſſembly, then ſitting in town, were in great joy for this ſuccour, and preſſed him earneſtly for the reception; but I found him intirely againſt it.

Being thus ſatisfied, I deſired him to leave the matter to me, and let me deal with the aſſembly. I went therefore immediately and found them on the debate, to which I ſpoke in my time; and with much deteſtation of the thing, declared all *traitors* that were on ſuch terms for receiving this ſuccour, and that I would hear no more of it, but

return

return to my forces, knowing what I had to do. The lord deputy was much pleaſed with this round diſcourſe, and publickly approved it: So the abbot, with what he had, ſet ſail, and returned from whence he came.

At my return (which was without delay) to *Kilallow* I found all quite, and whether *Ireton* had information of this paſſage I know not, but by a trumpet I received from him a letter, four ſides of paper, cloſe written in a ſmall hand; the drift was to ſet forth the juſtneſs of the parliament's proceedings, their great power, how ſhort a time I could ſubſiſt, what ill company I was with, and threw what dirt he could on the king I ſerved; but concluded withg reat value of my perſon, pitying my condition, and offering, if I would retire and live in *England*, I ſhould not only enjoy my eſtate, but remain in ſafety with eſteem and favour of the parliament. This letter I ſhewed immediately to F. *Peter Walſh*, whom I had always found faithful to the king, and a great lover of his country. By his advice, and by the ſame trumpet, I anſwered all his points, and rejected his propoſition as to every particular, deſiring him withal to ſend no more trumpets with ſuch Errands. —— From this time there was an end of all meſſages and letters between us.

All this while, *Ireton* remained ſtill and quiet, without action or attempt, expecting the coming of ſir *Charles Coote* on my back, or the fall of the river; both came together, and beſides that,

a third unlucky accident; for ſome days paſt, I kept a guard towards *Conaught*, when *Ireton*, by treachery of the officer, one captain *Kelly*, made himſelf maſter of a paſs, called, *Brien's Bridge*; whilſt I was haſtening with ſome troops to oppoſe him, having left the defence of the paſs at *Kilallow* to colonel *Fennel*, he cowardly or treacherouſly quitted it, and with his party fled into *Limerick*, where, upon the reddition of the town, which was not long after, *Ireton*, with more than his ordinary juſtice, hanged him. Some ſay he was carried to *Cork*, and there pleaded for his defence, not only this ſervice, but how he had betrayed me before *Youghall*; but his judges would not hear him on his merits, but bid him clear himſelf of the murders laid to his charge.

Now having letters from the lord deputy of ſir *Charles Coote*'s approach, I haſtened to him with what troops I had left, viz. about 300 horſe, and found him drawn into *Loughrea* with his forces; not being able to keep the field againſt *Coote*, who was twice his number, yet did not think fit to attack him, and was gone by, before my coming. About this time, *Athlone* gave up to the enemy, and ſo did *Limerick* to *Ireton* ſome weeks after. In the mean time the lord deputy and myſelf, with what troops we had, retired towards *Ger-Conaught*, under the covert of the river that runs by *Galway*, and ſo ſhifted up and down, 'till ſir *Charles Coote* came before it on *Loughrea*'s ſide, and had taken a caſtle a little above it on the river. Then we retired into *Gal-*

*way*,

*way*, where we had not been long before we heard of the king's defeat at *Worceſter*.

A man now would think this noble lord had diſcharged his part; yet his zeal carried him further: for he diſpatched me for *France*, to the king, by the way of *Ennis-bo-Finn* (for the river of *Galway* being full of parliament ſhips) with orders to ſet out the ill ſtate of his majeſty's affairs in *Ireland*; how the enemy carried all before 'em: yet, nevertheleſs, to ſerve his majeſty, he intended after *Galway* would be loſt, to make a mountain war, and to give the rebels trouble for ſome time, if his majeſty would but ſend him ſome ſmall ſuccour, which he demanded, and appointed me to return with to *Ennis-bo-Finn*; a fit place for a magazine, it being a large iſland, lying off *Ger-Conaught*, three miles into the ſea, in which we had a ſtrong gariſon. 'Tis ſurrounded with rocks, and has but one entrance, where there is a pretty good harbour for frigates and ſmall men of war. Here I ſhipped myſelf and landed at *Breſt*, ordering the frigate that brought me, commanded by captain *Antonio Vanderſip*, of *Burges*, to expect my orders. We had a ſharp fight at ſea with an *Engliſh* ſhip, but foul weather parted us, and no great hurt was done, but the biſhop of *Down* killed in the cabbin, 'tis thought by the wind of a bullet, or fear; for he had not the leaſt ſign of any hurt, and lived near a quarter of an hour.

Being landed, I took poſt for St. *Germans*, where I found the king, queen mother, and my lord

lord of *Ormond*. I delivered my letters of credence, and in a day or two had my audience. They ſeemed to take it to heart, and conſulted cardinal *Mazarine* and the chief miniſters. But the truth is, the king of *France*'s affairs were at that time in ſo much diſorder, by reaſon of the civil war, that nothing could be done. With this anſwer the king gave me a letter to the lord deputy, acknowledging his good ſervices and ordering he ſhould make the beſt conditions for himſelf and his party that he could, and expect a better ſeaſon.

Wherefore, having thus diſcharged my commiſſion, and ſeeing no hopes of ſucceſs in *Ireland*, I diſcharged my frigate, and with the king's permiſſion, engaged myſelf in the ſervice of the prince of *Conde*, who was then joined with the *Spaniards*. But firſt, I ſent by a ſafe hand his majeſty's letter to my good lord *Clanrickard*; of whom I have ſaid ſo much already, that I need add nothing but my own eſteem for his worthy memory, as a pattern of loyalty. Between my leaving him and his laying down arms, I can give no account of his adventures, but have heard that he was driven to great extremity.

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lord of Ormond. I delivered my letters of credence, and in a day or two had my audience. They seemed to take it to heart, and consulted cardinal Mazarine and the chief ministers. But the truth is, the king of France's affairs were at that time in so much disorder, by reason of the civil war, that nothing could be done. With this answer the king gave me a letter to the lord deputy, acknowledging his good services and ordering he should make the best conditions for himself and his party that he could, and expect a better fashion.

Wherefore, having thus discharged my commission, and seeing no hopes of success in Ireland, I discharged my frigate, and with the king's permission, engaged myself in the service of the prince of Conde, who was then joined with the Spaniards. But first, I sent by a safe hand his majesty's letter to my good lord Clarendon; of whom I have said so much already, that I need add nothing but my own esteem for his worthy memory, as a pattern of loyalty. Between my leaving him and his laying down arms, I can give no account of his adventures, but have heard that he was driven to great extremity.

AN

# APPENDIX,

IN the year 1638, being at *Rome*, I received a letter from the late king *Charles* I. requiring me to attend him in his expedition againſt the *Scots*, then revolted and in arms. Two days after I took poſt for *England*, and near *Turin* fell into an army, commanded by the marqueſs *de Leganes*, governor of *Milan*, for the king of *Spain*, who was marching to join another army, then beſieging that place. But the ſiege was ſoon raiſed, and I went into the town, where I found her royal highneſs the dutcheſs of *Savoy* in great diſorder, as if ſhe had got no reſt for many nights. On taking leave of her, ſhe gave me a muſket bullet, much battered, to deliver to her ſiſter the queen of *England*, that came in at her window, and miſſed her narrowly.

Arriving at *London*, I followed the king to *Berwick*, whom I found encamped with a good army near it, the river *Tweed* before him; for the number, to this hour, I never ſaw a better, and as I was told and believe, it could be no leſs than 16 or 17000 horſe and foot, with a good train of artillery. Soon after my arrival there was a pacification; the next day I dined with *Leſly*, general of the *Scots*; he ſhewed me his army in battalia, in number about 10 or 12000 horſe and foot,

but as to the horſes and arms, the twentieth man could not have paſſed muſter amongſt any armies I have ſince ſeen.

After this I paſſed my time as well as I could at home, 'till in the year 1640 the king of *France* beſieged *Arras*. On the news I went for *Bruſſels*, and thence followed the prince cardinal (governor of the Low-countries) to *Douay*, his army intrenched near the town, expecting the coming up of others, eſpecially the troops of the emperor, commanded by *Lamboy*, and thoſe of *Lorain*, by the duke of *Lorain* himſelf. All being arrived, the whole army marched, and coming to *Monte St. Aloy*, near the enemy's line, encamped on the right by it: Many great parties were ſent out for the hindering of convoys, but they came ſo ſtrong that little good was done upon them. The king of *France* being at *Amiens*, took care of all, whilſt monſieur *Millerie*, *grand maſter de L. Artillery*, preſſed the ſiege. Much time was trifled in this manner by the *Spaniards*; at length they attacked the line, but were beaten off. Then jealouſies and diſcontents began amongſt the great ones, which daily increaſed, and the rear-band beaten, where their lieutenant general, the count de *Buſſue* was killed.

The hopes of raiſing the ſiege grew deſperate, and at length the town was rendered to the *French*, *Owen Roe O Neil* (afterwards general of the province of *Ulſter*, for the confederate catholicks in *Ireland*) commanded within.

The blame of not ſuccouring this place was laid

laid on *Don Philip de Silva*, general of the horſe, under the prince cardinal. He was afterwards made priſoner in *Spain*, on ſuſpicion, as having betrayed the undertaking; but was after releaſed, laying the fault on the firſt miniſter, then governing that monarchy, under king *Philip* IV. as having done all by his orders, being the *Conde Duke*.

Having ſeen this action, I returned for *England*, and ſat in parliament 'till the cutting off of the earl of *Strafford*, and then I went for *Ireland* where I had an eſtate: And whilſt I was there, broke forth the rebellion of 1641, which kept me in war and trouble 'till the peace of 1646, as hath been ſeen.—Then I went for *France*.

Coming to *Paris*, and hearing that *Landriſie* was beſieged by the arch-duke *Leopold*, governor of the *Low-countries*, and that a *French* army was gone to the ſuccour; I had the curioſity to ſee that action: So I bought horſes and followed.

Being come to the army, in two or three days after, we imbattled before the line, and ſo near, that the enemy's cannon killed many men and horſes in our lines. I was in the firſt line, a right-hand man in prince *Rupert*'s troop, commanded by captain *Somerſet Fox*, the prince ſerving as lieutenant general. Now it beginning to be dark, all were fitted for attacking the line; and juſt as we expected the word to advance and fall on, we had orders to retreat in the ſilenteſt manner poſſible, without the leaſt touch of drum or trumpet. However, the enemy diſcovering it,

came

came out, and did us ſome miſchief in the rear, and would have done more, if prince *Rupert* that commanded them had not acted his part well. By what I could hear as the cauſe of this ſudden change, the two marſhals, *Gaſtian* and *Ranſo* that commanded, could not agree on the work they had in hand.

I returned to *Paris*, and remained there, attending the queen and prince of *Wales*'s orders (who were at St. *Germains*) 'till the year 1648; then I went for *Ireland* with the marqueſs of *Ormond*, lord lieutenant, ſerving the king againſt the *Nuncio*, council, and other his majeſty's enemies, 'till 1651, after the battle of *Worceſter* was loſt, and *Cromwell* conqueror of the three kingdoms, and the king fled into *France*, whither I followed, and with his majeſty's leave, engaged in the prince of *Conde*'s ſervice (then joined with the *Spaniards*) firſt, for a troop of *Gens d' Arms*; ſoon after for a regiment of horſe; but neither were ever mounted, tho' I had the men ready in *Paris*, as was ordered.

Whilſt I was thus, I came ſoon enough to the rampart to ſee ſome part of the fight in the ſuburbs of St. *Anthony*, which began early in the morning *July* 2, 1652. The king of *France* looking on from the hill of *Saronne*. The prince of *Conde* hardly had time to baracade the avenues, where he was attacked by *Monſieur de Turain*, commanding the king's army, with a force much greater than his; the fight was very bloody, and had been fatal to the confederates, had not

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the activity, beſides the valour and conduct of this brave prince prevented it, by riding from barrier to barrier, where his men were moſt preſſed. Thus he entertained the fight 'till about noon, that by means of *Mademoiſelle d' Orleans*; the gate of St. *Anthony* was opened for their retreat into the city.

After this the confederates had all freedom in *Paris* 'till about the 12th of *October* 1652. The prince of *Conde*, duke of *Lorain*, and the reſt of the confederates left *Paris*, and that night came to their army at *Dammartin*, and took their march towards *Lafeite*, *Moline* and *Fines*. I marched with them, tho' as a ſingle man.

The firſt place the prince of *Conde* took (theſe troops joined) was *Ratele*, which he beſieged *Oct.* 27. 1652, took the out-works the 28th, the town the 29th, and the caſtle *November* 2d, the governor, monſieur *Rale*. *Chaſteau Porſine*, was beſieged at the ſame time, yielding *Octob.* 28th, making little reſiſtance: Then St. *Menehout* was inveſted, the prince of *Conde* and duke of *Lorain* commanding, and rendered *November* 13, 1652. St. *Maurs* commander. This place coſt dear both in men and time, by the miſtake of the true attack, which diſcovered, and the batteries changed, did not reſiſt 12 hours.

About this time the duke of *Orleans*'s troops left us, the duke having made his peace.

*November* 23, 1652, the prince took *Barleduke* after ſome days ſiege, and a breach made, monſ. *de Fouge*, lieutenant general of the *Lorain* army,

was

was there killed with a muſket ſhot, viewing the breach. *Comercy*-caſtle and town about the ſame time was ſurrendred to the prince without much trouble.

The caſtle of *Voyde* after ſome days ſiege was yielded, *December* 9, 1652, to the prince.

Now the marſhal *de Turenne* having gotten a good army together, came near us, and beſieged *Barleduke*, which in a few days he regained; and whilſt this was doing, ſurprized the town of *Comercy*, where myſelf, with many others, were taken priſoners; but the count *de Fieſque*, who commanded, being in the caſtle, maintained it. Monſieur *Marole*, governor of *Tunvile*, who did this fate, the next day brought me to the quarters of monſieur *de la Ferte*: who gave me leave on my parole to viſit the duke of *York*, in the quarter of monſieur *de Turenne*. His royal highneſs at my requeſt got me to be exchanged, ſo I returned to the prince, and the officer exchanged went to the marſhal *de la Ferte*, of whoſe army he was; this campaign ended with our having taken *Veruience*, after a breach made, which was the 29th of *January* 1652.

*April* 23, 1653, the prince of *Conde* arrived in *Bruſſels*, and was lodged in the palace. The campaign following, *September* 5, 1653, we beſieged *Roeroy*, the 7th the line of circumvallation was begun, and finiſhed the 11th; the trenches opened the 12th; the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Germans* had each an attack; the 22d, the three nations were lodged on the counter-

ſcarp.

Sharp ſallies were made, with ſome loſs to the beſiegers; however, they held their ground, and faſten'd a mine to one of the baſtions, which was ready to ſpring the 26th. The next night the mine was ſprung, and a breach made in the face of the baſtion, ſomething too near the point; however, our people lodged themſelves, and the enemy retrenched in the baſtion; but not being able to make it good, the gariſon much weaken'd with the loſs of men killed and hurt, was ſurrendred *October* 1, 1653. I never knew bombs annoy any place ſo much as this. From the firſt day of this ſiege to the laſt, nothing but rain, with ill weather; and that which was worſe, the prince of *Conde* deſperately ſick all the time: However, tho' he lay in his bed, nothing of conſequence was done but by his advice; tho' the arch-duke *Leopold* commanded in chief. The governor of the place was the chevalier *Montague*, who, as I remember, was brought out wounded. The duke of *Lorain*'s troops, commanded by the count of *Luniville*, aſſiſted in this ſiege; at which the duke ſeemed to be ill pleaſed, for he was angry with *Luniville*, and rebuked him ſeverely.

*February* 26, 1654, the duke of *Lorain* being in *Bruſſels*, and his army near the town, was arreſted by the count *de Garriſie* (maſter de camp general) ſo ordered by the arch-duke *Leopold*, and conveyed to the caſtle of *Antwerp*: but prince *Francoys* of *Lorain* being at *Vienna*, was ſent for, which appeaſed the officers, eſpecially when he arrived at *Bruſſels*, which was the 9th of

*May* following. All this time, beſides the quality of marſhal de camp, I had the particular command of nine or ten *Iriſh* regiments, making 5000 men; and the campaign coming on, the prince ordered me to make a detachment of 1000 of the choiceſt men I had, dividing them into fifties, commanded by lieutenants; only one fifty might have a captain, and then to deliver them to the count *de Briole*, marſhal de camp, which I did, tho' with much murmur of the colonels, and other officers, concluding, never to ſee their men again, which fell out true, being to be ſent as far off as to *Clermont*, *Stenay*, and other places.

Next campaign began with the king of *France*'s beſieging *Stenay*, which he did *June* 9, 1654. The *Spaniards* thought to raiſe this ſiege by attacking another place, and beſieged *Arras*, inveſting it the 3d of *July* 1654, monſieur *Moudieux* governor; the lines of circumvallation finiſhed the 9th, not ſo large by two leagues as when the *French* took it; the 12th or 13th the trenches were opened; tho' the chevalier de *Crequi*, with ſome hundreds of horſe had entered the town. The 6th or 7th of *July* ſome other attempts were made to put in ſuccour, but none hit to any purpoſe. It is certain our army was no way provided or ſufficient for the work, to man ſo large a line, and furniſh the attacks; which were two, one of the *Spaniards*, the other the prince of *Conde*'s. The *Lorainers*, commanded by prince *Francoys*, had no attack. The ground was ſuch that the ditch of the line in moſt places could hardly

hardly be made of any depth; to ſupply which defect eight or ten rows of great holes were made before it, with ſtakes like pallaſades beaten into them. While we were carrying on our attacks, with much art and valour, monſieur *de Turenne*, with a ſmall army, poſted himſelf at *Montripo-reux* and *Vitrey*, about a league from our line, almoſt in the way to *Doway*; from whence much of our proviſions and other things came.

But when *Stenay* was yielded, being *Auguſt* the 6th, the count *de Camille* governor, and the marqueſs *de Fabert* commanding the army that took it; the king with his army marched and poſted himſelf near mount S. *Aloy*, not far from our line, ſo that in truth we were in a manner now beſieged, but quickly put out of our pain. For ſoon after, being the 24th or 25th of *Auguſt*, an hour before day our line was alarmed round, attacked really in two or three places, and forced in a ſhort time. Thus *Arras* was relieved, and our army retreated to *Cambray*; after this *Quency* yielded to the *French*, ſo this field ended.

I do not remember any thing remarkable that paſſed in 1655, but the 15th of *June* 1656, monſieur *de Turenne* inveſted *Valencenne*; to the ſuccour of which *Don John*, governor of the Low-countries, having gotten his army together, marched; the prince of *Conde*, with his army, joined; they poſted themſelves the firſt of *July* at *Farmars*, a league from the town, and very near the enemy's line, where they intrenched. *June* 28th, the *French* opened their trenches with two

attacks from the two armies of *Turenne* and *la Ferte*. Much ſcuffling there was at this ſiege, between the town and the enemy; many brave ſallies were made, and as gallantly oppoſed; ſeveral works taken by the *French* and regained by the gariſon. The governor, the duke *de Burnaville*, cauſed ſluices to be opened, which raiſed waters in the enemy's camp, and much hindred the communication between the two armies of *Lorain* and *la Ferte*; 'till one morning before day, being *July* the 16th, *Don John* and the prince of *Conde* fell on the enemy's line, alarming it on all ſides, and where they attacked it really entered, tho' it coſt much blood on both ſides; many priſoners were taken of the *French*, one of which was the marſhal *de la Ferte*.—*Valencienne* thus relieved.

*July* 21, 1656, the *Spaniards* and prince of *Conde* inveſted *Conde*, monſieur *de Paſſage* governor; *Auguſt* 8th, they finiſhed their lines of circumvallation, and the place been vigorouſly attacked, was rendred *Auguſt* 17th.— Here ended this campaign.

The next field was begun by the ſame prince and army, beſieging St. *Gilaine*, *March* 16, 1657, monſieur *de Chomburge* governor; the ſtory is not worthy to be remembered, for the place was betrayed by ſome of the gariſon, and ſo rendred *March* 22d. Soon after, being *May* 20, 1657, the marſhal *de Turenne* inveſted *Cambray*, and took his poſts for the ſiege, but the prince of *Conde* being at *Boſeu*, near *Monts*, marched immediately

immediately with 4000 horſe, and the 29th, in the evening, came near the enemy's camp; the next morning, an hour before day, fell on monſieur *de Turenne*'s quarters, broke thro' into the town, and relieved it: however the *French* loſt no courage, but the 26th of *Auguſt* following, beſieged S. *Venant*, and about the ſame time *Don John*, the duke of *York*, and prince of *Conde*, beſieged *Ardares*; and for the better diſpatch, the 28th they made a general aſſault, taking all the out-works and faſten'd mines to the walls in three places. But S. *Venant* yielding ſooner than was expected, the princes were forced to raiſe the ſiege.

*Mardike* was beſieged by the *French*, *September* 29, 1657, and taken in five days.

The next campaign begun *May* 14, 1658, when the marſhal *d' Aumont*, attempting to gain *Oſtend* by intelligence and ſurpriſe, was taken himſelf in his own net. The particular relation is pleaſant; but it having been often printed, I'll let it alone: now tho' this marſhal of *France* fell into this misfortune, monſieur *de Turenne* did abundantly recover the honour. For the 24th of *May* 1658, he beſieged *Dunkirk*, *Don John*, the duke of *York*, and prince of *Conde*, with all the force they could make, came to the ſuccour, and it ſeems with confidence that *Turenne* durſt not appear without his line, for otherwiſe they would not have come near ſo ill provided, moſt of their horſe being gone to forrage, or ſcattered up and down, and their cannon not arrived.

But

But monſieur *de Turenne* failed them; for knowing they came from *Furnes*, he marched to meet them.

On the *Downs* thus they encountered the 14th of *June* 1658, and after much fighting, the honour of the field remained to the *French*. Yet the town held ſtoutly, tho' the ſuccours were beaten; for it never capitulated 'till the 14th of *July*, that their brave governor, the marqueſs *de Lede* was wounded mortally, of which he died; ſo the town yielded the ſame day.

The *French* being in this humour of conquering, monſieur *la Ferte* beſieged *Graveling* the 27th or 28th of *July* 1658; it capitulated the 28th of *Auguſt*, and was rendred the next day.

Soon after this the prince *de Lione*, general of the horſe for the king of *Spain*'s army being routed near *Ipres*, he, with part of his horſe ſaved themſelves in the town, on which the *French* beſieged them, and in four or five days the town was yielded, being *September* the 24th; the prince and gariſon as I think remaining priſoners of war.

*October* 27, 1658, the *French* took *Comines*, which made ſome reſiſtance.

Now a ſuſpenſion of arms concluded *May* 9, 1659, being followed with the *Pyrenean* peace, ſigned *November* 17, 1659, put an end to the war which had ſo long raged.

From this time there was no more war in this part of the world, 'till the king, after his reſtoration, broke with the *Hollanders*, and much fighting

fighting there was at ſea; in ſome of which I have been, tho' but a voluntier. Thus, and following the court, I paſſed my time 'till the year 1667, that the *French* invaded *Flanders*, the marqueſs of *Caſtle-Roderigo* governor.

Thither by his majeſty's command I went with 2400 men, a recruit for the old *Engliſh* regiment, of which I was made colonel; and about *June* 15, 1667, with ſome of them landed at *Oſtend*, the reſt ſoon following. Theſe men were immediately thrown into towns, as *Newport*, *Lille*, *Courtrey*, *Oudenard*, &c. But before my coming the king of *France* had ſeized *Armentiers*, *Charleroy*, *Bergen*, St. *Winoke*, *Feurnes*, *Ath*; and in four or five days after took *Tourney*, which reſiſted three days. 'Till about this time the *Spaniards* did not know themſelves abſolutely to be in the war; for their troops often met the *French* and parted as friends. Then monſieur *de Turenne* beſieged *Doway July* 1ſt, and had it the 6th.

*July* 18, 1667, *Courtrey*, with the citadel was taken by the *French*, having made ſome reſiſtance, but *Oudenard* at the ſame time made little or none.

*Auguſt* 5th, the king of *France* having for ſome days attempted the taking of *Dermond*, left it after the loſs of many men as reported: But the king ſoon after beſieged *Lile*, opening the trenches before it *Auguſt* 19th. It yielded the 27th, after moſt of the out-works taken; the count *de Broy* governor.

Now the count *de Marcine*, maſter de camp, general for the king of *Spain*, was at this time

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in *Ipres* with a conſiderable body of horſe, and ſome foot, of which I had 6 or 700 of my regiment, he pretending to ſuccour *Lile.* But on the news of its reddition he marched away with all his horſe, hoping to recover *Gaunt*, but whether by reaſon of the ill ways and foul weather or other hinderances, came ſhort; for the *French* horſe and dragoons were gotten before him, and encamped near *Mary-kirk*, not far from the town, on *Holland*'s ſide of the cut river that goes between *Gaunt* and *Bruges*; and the laſt of *Auguſt*, early in the morning (having no right intelligence of the enemy) fell in amongſt the *French* horſe.

Thus ſurpriſed and marching on dikes, he was forced to fight for it, and as men catched, in this manner, after ſome diſpute, was routed; many of his men and officers killed and taken priſoners; himſelf narrowly eſcaping. The *French* thus encouraged fell on *Aloſt*, midway between *Bruſſels* and *Gaunt*, and being aſſaulted, it was rendred *September* 9th or 10th, 1667.

Now to ſave what was left of the *Low-countries*, there was no other remedy (for army we had none) but by the mediation of the neigbouring princes to gain a ſuſpenſion of arms, publiſhed *March* 6, 1668, and was to hold 'till the laſt of the month; then there was a ſecond ſuſpenſion of arms, which began the 15th of *April* following, and was to laſt to the end of *May*. But the peace of *Aix-la-Chappelle* concluded *May* the 2d following, which put an end to our trouble: for it cannot be called a war. After

After this the marqueſs of *Caſtle-Roderigo* ſtayed not long; but the conſtable of *Caſtile* ſucceeded, in whoſe time all was quiet.

Since the peace of *Aix*, the *Spaniſh Netherlands* enjoyed a ſhew of quietneſs, 'till about *October* 4, 1673. Then at a meeting between the count *de Montery*, governor of the *Lowcountries*, and the prince of *Orange*, at a village near *Antwerp*, called *Galmethat*, within half a league of the priory of *Huybergnen*, *Spain* was engaged in a new war againſt the *French*, both parties ſeeming inclined to a breach.

I do not know all the reaſons, but for a long time each complained of infractions: the *French*, That the *Spaniards* had aſſiſted the prince of *Orange* in his attempt for the ſurprize of *Charleroy*, in which he failed, ſent off their troops to man certain towns belonging to the ſtates of *Holland*, as *Boiſleduc Bergen-op-zoom*, and other places; that their troops were aſſiſting the prince of *Orange*, in the taking of *Naerden* near *Amſterdam*, &c. The *Spaniards* complained, that the king's countries were eaten up, and deſtroyed by the marching of *French* troops thro' them; eſpecially when the king of *France* with his army entered about *Bruges* and *Gaunt*, marching at diſcretion, fearing no enemy 'till he came to *Bruſſels*, where he encamped on all ſides ſeveral days. After this refreſhment, he continued his march to *Maeſtricht*, which he beſieged *June* 11, 1673, and took it the 30th. That the prince of *Conde* had for ſeveral weeks lain with an army

eating and deſtroying the country of *Aloſt*.

Now on the breaking out of this new war, the marſhal *de Belford*, who commanded for the king of *France* in *Holland*, had orders to draw all his forces thence, and march to *Maeſtricht*.

This alarmed the count *de Montery*, fearing that he would take *Roermond* in his way. So he ſent me to command there, being general *de Battle*. But the marſhal ſpared me, and picked up *Arleux*, a ſmall town two leagues from me, ſeated on the *Roer*; being paſſed, he joined the prince of *Conde* near *Maeſtricht*, and alarmed *Stevenſwert*, a regular place and tenable, when there is no want within it; in an hour's time, I received two orders from the count *de Montery*, brought by two reformed officers, ſent expreſs, requiring me, on ſight, to march with the count of *Mansfield* and 500 of the *Germans*, in gariſon with me, and to endeavour the getting into *Stevenſwert*, where I was to command, and if I were worſted in the attempt, to ſave myſelf, and ſuch as remained after the fight to *Venlo*. I received theſe orders as I was at dinner, about one of the clock, and got into the place with my men by ſix of the clock that evening, tho' it were 3 or 4 leagues, for the place was not inveſted as the count *de Montery* thought; however theſe armies kept us in doubt four or five days, 'till at length the prince of *Conde* having taken the caſtle of *Argento*, they beſieged *Newliny* May 20, 1674, a fort belonging to the king of *Spain*, on the river *Meaux*, ſeated between *Liege* and *Maeſtricht*

*ſtricht*: It was ſurrendred *May* 23d. After this the prince of *Conde* having trifled ſome time in marching up and down, came with his army to *Pieton*, a ſtrong poſt in its nature, by reaſon of the meeting of the two rivers *Samber* and *Pieton*; but withal, he was ſtrongly intrenched, and had much cannon on his batteries and cavaliers.

About the 15th of *July* 1674, *Dinant* with the caſtle was ſurprized by the Imperialiſts, commanded by the count *de Souch*; and the 22d following they paſſed the *Meaux* near *Namure* to join the prince of *Orange*, and the other confederates.

Now all being together, after ſeveral campings they came to *Nivell*, hoping to draw the prince of *Conde* from his intrenchments to a fair battle, ſhewing themſelves in battle before him. Several days paſſed thus. Then they marched from *Nivell Auguſt* the 9th, and the next day encamped at *Seneff*, *Jeluy*, and other places thereabouts. All this while the enemy never appeared, tho' by coming near, many occaſions were offered. Seeing nothing could prevail, *Auguſt* 11, 1674, the prince of *Orange*, with the confederates, very early in the morning marching off, intending to encamp between *Marymont* and *Binch*. But being to paſs within a league of the enemy's camp, they made a detachment of 5000 horſe and dragoons, for the better ſecurity of the rear. In the march the *Imperialiſts* had the van-guard, the *Hollanders* the battle, the *Spaniards* conſiſting of ſixteen ſquadrons of horſe; the rear guard

now having marched ſome time in this manner, about ten or eleven of the clock in the morning, being *Saturday*, the enemy began to appear, attacking the river, and tho' well diſputed, carried all before them for ſome hours, 'till the *Germans* turned, and joined with ſome of the *Holland* army not broken, gave a ſtop to this furious beginning, and brought it to a bloody battle. Both ſides bragged of victory, tho' neither had much cauſe. The fight ended *Sunday* morning, and that night the confederates encamped where they were to have been the night before. And the prince of *Conde* returned to his retrenchment at *Pieton*.

The prince of *Orange* being a ſtranger, and having left himſelf and army to be guided by a general that pretended to know the country, was brought ſo near the prince of *Conde*'s retrenchment, that in going off his rear was expoſed and ſo accordingly it was attacked. But next day after the battle the prince complained much, and fell very heavy on the general, who adviſed this march; but it was too late.

Theſe were the moſt powerful armies that had been ſeen in *Flanders* theſe many years. The confederates did much ſurpaſs in number, tho' the prince of *Conde*'s army in moſt men's judgment exceeded 40,000 horſe and foot. The report of the ſlain and wounded is various, but they may be taken at 8 or 10,000 of both ſides. I know not which loſt moſt; but the quality exceeded the number. Amongſt many other brave men were ſlain the marqueſs *de Aſſentar*, maſter de camp

camp, general for the *Spaniards*, and ſir *Walter Vane*, major general; ſerving the *Hollanders*.

The prince of *Orange* after this battle of *Seneff*, loſt no time, for *September* 17th following, he had formally beſieged *Oudenard* (the ſieur *de Roſpine* governor) and having much advanced his trenches, had notice of the prince of *Conde*'s approach, with his army increaſed, the marſhal *de Humers* having joined to him 8 or 10,000 men. On this the confederates drew moſt of their men out of the attacks, but remained within the line until the next morning, and then with the favour of a dark miſt, quitted all, left the ſiege, and got to *Gaunt*, I know not how, but certainly in great confuſion, after the loſs of many men. Much blame was laid on the count *de Souch*; whether he were faulty or no, he ſoon with his army returned for *Germany*, and the prince of *Orange* poſted for *Grave* (long beſieged by general *Ravenholt*, a *Holland* commander) and took it about *October* 22, 1674, the army of the ſtates general left *Flanders*, and returned to their country.

The king of *France* began his compaign the year 1675, with the ſiege of *Limburgh*. The prince of *Orange* and duke of *Villa-Hermoſa*, then governor of the *Low-countries*, aſſembled their armies near *Lovain*, and marched in all haſte to its ſuccour, tho' in miſerable weather. They paſſed the *Meuſe* at *Roermond*; but before they could arrive at the enemy's camp, the place was yielded *June* the 20th, after a very good de-

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ſence, the prince of *Naſſau* governor of it, and the province.

The army of the confederates much ſhattered and in diſorder with ſo terrible a march, being returned to *Aerſcot*, encamped there, and near about for along time, 'till being refreſhed and recovered, they began their march towards *Monts*; *Binch*, without the armies coming to it, yielded to a party, ſent by the prince of *Orange*, *Auguſt* 31, 1675.

The campaign of the year 1676, began with the king of *France*'s beſieging *Conde*. which he did *April* the 19th. The prince of *Orange*, the duke *de Villa-Hermoſa* marched to its ſuccour; but coming near, found it rendred the 25th of the ſame month, not being able to reſiſt longer, the ſeveral aſſaults the *French* made.

The king of *France* not contenting himſelf with *Conde*, ſent his brother (the duke of *Orleans*) and the marſhal *de Crequi* to beſiege *Bouchain* which they did *May* 5, 1676, and the king to cover the ſiege encamped at *Keverine*, facing towards *Monts*; the river before him. On this intelligence ſome days after, the prince of *Orange* and duke *de Villa-Hermoſa*, being with their army encamped near *Monts*, marched, and on bridges of boats, before day, paſſed *L' Eſcaulte*, within cannon ſhot of *Conde*, leaving it on the left hand; and not loſing time, about ten or eleven of the clock that morning, being *May* the 9th, gained the height between *Valencienne* and the abbey of *Bone Eſperance*. But coming

coming there, we found the king of *France* on a height embattelling his army before us, about half a league diſtant, all plain between the two armies, and juſt in the way between us and *Bouchain*, ſo near we were, that the cannon killed from one army to another.

Thus poſted, thoſe that were not of the great council thought of nothing but immediately to fall on, and I myſelf was one of thoſe; for it being my fortune that campaign to command the king of *Spain*'s foot, I made many ſpeeches to them, preparing them for battle, fitting them with powder, and all things needful. But the day paſt, we lay on our arms all night, and in the morning had orders to encamp, throwing up a line before us, *Bouchain* (monſieur *Drouhte* governor) ſeeing this ſuccour did its part; but at laſt, being over-preſſed, the place yielded the 12th or 13th of *May*; yet the king at the head of his army, ſtood facing us five or ſix days more 'till *Bouchain* was put in order, and all lines and trenches levelled. Then the 19th of *May*, before day, after his drums and trumpets had done their parts, he marched off from his camp at the farm of *Hurtisbe*, and that night encamped near *Bouchain*; the next day marched for *Doway*. Theſe were great armies, each counted at leaſt 50000 men, but what ever they were, I am ſure they were not leſſen'd by ſo long lying near neighbours.

After this the prince of *Orange* marched from his camp of *Mon d' Anſin* near *Vallencenne May*

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the 21ſt, and after ſeveral campments, came to *Nivelle*, from whence the 8th of *July*, with a detachment of his army, and ſome others that met him, the 11th or 12th of *July* he inveſted *Maeſtricht*, the 19th the lines of circumvallation were finiſhed, and the 20th he began to make uſe of his cannon, opening his trenches by two attacks, one was the biſhop, prince of *Oſnaburg*'s; the other the prince of *Orange*'s own; *Wick* on the other ſide of the *Meuſe*, was not attacked.

Now while this ſiege was carrying on, the duke *de Villa-Hermoſa* marched with the army of *Holland* and his own the 26th of *July* to *Marykirk* near *Gaunt*, and *Aire* having been beſieged for ſome days by the marſhal *de Humers*, the duke marched to *Deinſe*, where he heard that the fort *Link* was taken, and ſoon after *Aire*. The cauſe given why this ſtrong place held out no better, is, that a magazine of powder blew up by ſome accident; on which the *Burgers* (more ſtrong than the garriſon) ſeized the governor, the marqueſs *de Warny*, and compelled him to demand a treaty.

This having broken the duke's meaſure, for he deſigned to have ventured for the ſuccour of *Aire*, his excellency marched immediately, following the count *de Waldike*, who was gone before him with the *Holland* army, and encamped between *Lovain* and *Bruſſels*, his excellency encamped near *Mechlin*; but *Auguſt* the 20th he left his camp, and in ſome days both armies came to *Tongeres* &

res; and ſoon after appeared the van of the *French* army, ſo that he had no more time than to call a council of war, where having heard the relation, given by count *de Waldike* newly come from the ſiege, but not being above two leagues diſtance, all gave their opinions unanimouſly, for the preſent raiſing the ſiege, and that the duke and *Waldike* ſhould let the prince know ſo much: accordingly the next day the ſiege was raiſed, the enemy putting in ſuccour.

The prince then drawing off, all our enemies being joined, were put in battle on a height, about a half league from the line. But monſieur *de Schomberg* having relieved the place, marched another way, and encamped that night on the hill of St. *Peter's*. I was in the trenches before the ſiege was raiſed; but did not judge the town ſo preſſed as was generally ſaid, without it had ſome want within, that I knew not; for there were many hard pieces to be gained before miners could be faſten'd to the wall, or any attackable breach made with cannon.

This was by much the bloodieſt ſiege that ever I ſaw. The *Reingrave*, with a great part of the men that made the prince's court, were killed, and more hurt; the prince himſelf ſhot in the arm; all the regiments ſtrangely diminiſhed; the cannon was loſt; for coming from *Holland* by the river of *Meuſe*, when it was pretty full, now it being much fallen, it could not be brought off. By what I ſaw of the line of circumvallation, I would rather have choſen to

fight in a plain field than behind it; for it was not of ſtrength ſufficient; neither was the army of force to man it, and go on with their attacks, without the prince had drawn into his line the army commanded by the duke *de Villa-Hermoſa* and *Waldike*. That poſſibly might have changed the ſcene, tho' the communication would have been very hard, between them of *Wick*-ſide, with thoſe before *Maeſtricht*, becauſe of the river *Meuſe*, which above and below muſt have been paſſed on the bridges of boats: from the firſt of the ſiege I never heard the gariſon counted at leſs than 5 or 6000 men. I ſhall not venture to give a judgment of the men killed and wounded; but certainly the number was great.

The dividing the army was in my opinion ill adviſed, neither party being of ſtrength to do the work deſigned for it, whereas united it might have either carried *Maeſtricht*, or hindered the taking any other place. And for all the princes expoſing himſelf and army to the utmoſt danger, yet ſome there were that did not afford him a good word, but the contrary.

After the raiſing this ſiege the prince of *Orange* ſought by all means to engage the *French* in a battle; yet about *September* 7, 1675, monſieur *Schomberg* paſſed the river of *Mahaine* in the view of our right wing uninterrupted, but the prince was in the left wing, near a league diſtance, and hardly knew any thing 'till all was paſſed. About three days after, the prince and duke *de Villa-Hermoſa* encamped the army about *Giblow*,

*low*, the quarter of the court in the town, and monſieur *de Schomberg* with his army, about a league from us, in a faſt country, but very great plains juſt before him. The next morning early the prince put his army in battle on this plain, in ſight, and very near the enemy, but *Schomberg*, ſtirred not.

Now after ſome hours wearied with ſtanding, the prince with his army marched off, leaving the *Spaniards* and *Germans* in the rear; which ſoon after that began to move, monſieur *Montal*, with a great body of horſe and dragoons, marched thro' *Giblow*, from whence we parted, and fell on in the flank and rear, doing ſome miſchief, cauſing great confuſion among us. And had this party been well ſeconded by monſieur *Schomberg*, it might have proved a ſecond *Seneff*; for the prince of *Orange*, with his army was far off, and many of his horſes gone to forage. In a day or two after the prince went for the *Hague* and the duke *de Villa-Hermoſa* with *Waldike* marched to *Wawer* in order to put an end to the field of 1676.

This year 1677, the field opening with the count *de Nancres* attacking the fort, called the three holes, near *Vilverde*, on the cut river that goes between *Bruſſels* and *Antwerp*; but was beaten off the 24th of *February*.

The 6th or 7th of *March*, *Vallencenne*, was beſieged by the king of *France*; he opened his trenches the 9th, and the 17th the town was taken by ſurprize, about nine of the clock in the

morning. The ſtory is ſtrange, for half an hour before this accident, and the 8th day the trenches opened, the enemy had not gained a foot of ground; the *French* entered by the gates, which they found open, for the governor, the marquess of *Risburge*, a brave ſoldier, was in his bed dangerouſly wounded, and the town was governed by a council of war. Thus encouraged, the king beſieged *Cambray*, about the laſt of *March* following, and the 3d or 4th of *April* the town yielded; after the gariſon, by orders of the governor, had killed all their horſes, being as I have heard near 1000, then with the governor they retired into the citadel, which was fiercely attacked; bnt the king having a mighty force, divided his army, and with one part, his brother, the duke of *Orleans*, beſieged St. *Omers March* 28, 1677. On which the prince of *Robeck*, governor, ſent preſſing letters to the prince of *Orange* (then encamped in the *Pais de Waſt* near *Gaunt*) to haſten to his ſuccour.

The prince of *Orange* on this, and his great zeal for the ſervice, did what he could to put his army in order, having none but his own with him; and the 11th of *April*, after hard marching, coming to *Caſtles*, found the duke of *Orleans* had quitted the line to meet him, and was in battle before him. Then the two armies engaged, and the battle was well fought on both ſides for a long time; but the detachment ſent from *Cambray* by the king of *France* turned the ſcales.

This

This, together with the prince's fighting on ground he knew not, and where he met with rivers and defiles or narrow ways that he never heard of, was the cauſe of his overthrow.

Soon after this (*April* 17th) the citadel of *Cambray* was rendred, *Don Pedro Saval*, governor of it and the town: and St. *Amers* about the 28th of *April* following, was likewiſe rendred.

This did not abate the courage of the prince of *Orange*; for *Auguſt* the 4th following (almoſt in the view of as good an army as that he commanded) he beſieged *Charleroy*, a place ſeated on the river *Sambre*, ſtrong by nature; and fortified with all the art imaginable, a gariſon of 4 or 5000 men, a brave governor, the count *de Montal*, no want within, but rather abundance of every thing; very hard to make a good line of circumvallation, for beſides the rockineſs of the ground, one part of it muſt be commanded by a hill, that could not be ſecured but by an army without, near as ſtrong as any that might come for the relief; a great wood that runs ſeveral leagues in length, and in breadth near half a league, joins to this line; thro' this there are great ways or lanes cut, where two or three ſquadrons might march in breaſt: but the ſtumps and ſome fallen trees remain ſtill, ſo that the horſe or man could hardly paſs but in paths; the place not attackable but on one ſide, by reaſon of the *Sambre* that runs by it, which muſt be paſſed by bridges of boats, the communication very difficult.

Thus

Thus the prince lay beſieging this place, while the duke *de Villa-Hermoſa* with an army was encamped on the ſaid hill, 'till the duke of *Luxemburgh* came with his army, and encamped within little more than cannon-ſhot of the wood, in a great plain, over againſt our camp, I mean that camp commanded by the duke *de Villa-Hermoſa*, who lay without the line, for the defence of the forementioned hill: On this encampment of the duke of *Luxemburgh*, many councils of war were held by the great ones of the confederates: the duke *de Villa-Hermoſa*, and the *Spaniſh* generals were for paſſing the wood, and engaging the enemy. But the prince of *Orange* and his generals judged it not practicable, and further, impoſſible to ſucceed with the work in hand, this powerful army ſo near. Whereupon the prince reſolved to raiſe the ſiege, which he did in good order *Auguſt* 14, 1677.

The reaſon given by the chief confederate generals for adviſing or conſenting to this ſiege of *Charleroy*, is, that for ſo many days both armies had been encamped near together in the country of *Aloſt*; but the *French* could not be brought to a battle. Now the confederates finding themſelves very ſtrong, fell on this deſign, hoping to gain their end in beſieging this important place, by the enemies coming to its ſuccour.

This might hold pretty well if the confederates had purſued their point, when the *French* came as they could wiſh. For the duke of *Luxemburgh* with his army paſſed the *Sambre* at *La Buſiere*,

and

and ſo kept on his march 'till he came to the encampment near the wood, which took up at leaſt two days; in all which time he could not well have avoided fighting, if the confederates had ſought it, by marching to meet them.

This failure is hard to be excuſed.—Much blame was laid on the prince of *Orange* for not paſſing the wood, and attacking the *French* in their camp, which if he had done, according to all reaſons of war, he had loſt his army, for the *French* would never have given him time to have put his army in battle, but fight him by piece-meals as he appeared out of the wood. Beſides his battalions and ſquadrons muſt needs have been diſordered in their march thro' the wood.

The generals that were for fighting, alledged that the *French*, by reaſon of a little river before them, were ſo encamped that their right wing could not ſuccour their left. But ſuch an encampment is hardly credible, it being in a great plain where they had choice of encampment..

It was further given out, and ſpoken publickly, that the prince raiſed the ſiege on ſome letter or meſſage the king of *England* ſent him, and brought by the earl of *Oſſory*. Now, to my own knowledge, and to the view of all the army, the earl of *Oſſory* came to the prince ſome days before *Charleroy* was inveſted, ſo that this meſſage or letter might have prevented the ſiege rather than to have raiſed it. Beſides, if the king of *England*, moved by intereſt of ſtate, ſhould have ſent ſuch letter or meſſage, is it to be imagined

that

that he would have employed the earl of *Offory*, who was one of the braveſt men of his time, and if he had a fault, too fond of glory? Thus you ſee in what ill ſtation the prince of *Orange* was.

As we returned from this ſiege the 24th of this month, *Binch* fell into our hands, and in a day or two after we took *la Buſiere*, but with ſome ſhot of cannon.

Soon after, *September* the 10th, the duke of *Luxemburgh* attacked the fort, called the *Three Holes*, near *Vilvoid*. The attack began about ten in the morning, and the night ended it; there were not in it above ſixty men, commanded by one captain *Carpenter*; he and they got much honour, and the *French* went off with loſs of ſome men.

The prince of *Orange* being in *England* or at the *Hague*, I know not whether, the marſhal *de Humiers* beſieged St. *Guillain*. The duke *de Villa-Hermoſa*, now commanding in chief, for monſieur *Waldike*, with the *Holland* army, was to obey his orders, marched for its ſuccour; but coming in ſight, found the place yielded, or treating, it being the 10th or 11th of *December*. The *French* reſolving to give little reſt, the king fell on *Gaunt* the 9th of *March* 1678, and had it the 18th, the caſtle held out two days more. The reaſon that *Gaunt* made little reſiſtance, was, it had no gariſon for ſo great a place; the *Burgers* did what was done.

The king from *Gaunt* marched to *Ipres*, it having been reſtored to the *Spaniards* upon the *Pyrenian*

*Pyrenian* peace, and beſiged it, opening the trenches before both town and citadel the 18th and 19th of *March* 1678. And as it had a brave governor, the marqueſs *de Conflant*, ſo it was well defended; but being vigorouſly attacked, the citadel good for nothing, and many things wanting in the town; *March* the 27th it was yielded.

The *French* left no ſtone unturned for gaining of places. For a party ſent from *Maeſtricht* the 4th of *May* 1678, in the night ſurprized *Leuwee*, a very ſtrong and important place, not far from *Lovain*. Since the taking of St. *Guillian* by the *French*, *Monts* had been very cloſely blocked, and ſo much ſtreighten'd, that if not ſpeedily relieved, it muſt yield, having many wants within. On this the prince of *Orange*, and duke *de Villa-Hermoſa* reſolved to attempt its ſuccour: And having gotten a good army together, marched, and arriving near *Soignes*, the duke of *Luxemburgh* with his army retired before them towards *Monts*; but coming within a league or thereabouts, encamped himſelf on a large heath, with the valley of *Caſtio* before him, his back towards the town.

The confederates coming near this valley, and in full view of the enemy's camp, the valley only between the two armies, the prince of *Orange* put his army in battle on two lines, the *Spaniſh* forces had the right wing, the duke *de Villa-Hermoſa* commanding it; the army of the ſtates general, the left, which the prince of *Orange* commanded.

Now before I ſpeak of the fight, which was

altogether in the valley or on its edges, I muſt deſcribe the valley. Of its length I ſaw no end but its breadth from one ſide to the other could not be leſs than a mile over, and of a great depth; in the bottom runs a little river, and the ſides of the valley very ſteep, rocky, and full of wood; no way thro' it where more than horſes may paſs one after another, and that by turnings and windings, the abbey of St. *Denis* is ſeated in it, but ſo low, that it is not to be ſeen 'till you come over it. On the other ſide the river, almoſt oppoſite to St. *Denis*, comes in a neck of land, all plain, where the enemy had a little camp; the the old burnt caſtle of *Caſtio* is about two miles from St. *Denis*, ſeated in the valley, and on the ſame ſide, but on a height, as high as the main land, and very near the edge of the valley; both theſe places on our ſide, but poſſeſſed by the enemy.

The fight began about one of the clock after dinner, with the prince's planting cannon againſt thoſe encamped on the advanced neck of land, and ſoon after fell on St. *Denis*, which was well manned, and had many battalions ſent from the camp on the height, and the *French* army to aſſiſt it, but St. *Denis* being of no ſtrength, was quitted, and after much fighting, the *French* battalions retired to the height, the prince's people purſuing, yet the fight continued, and bloody doings there was. About the ſame time the duke *de Villa-Hermoſa* fell on *Caſtio*, and after much reſiſtance, both from thoſe within and the ſeveral battalions ſent from the *French*

army

army to its aſſiſtance, took it; yet the fight continued very warm in the valley, ſupplies of battalions coming from both armies to help theirs.

Thus it held 'till towards the evening: then the *French* regained *Caſtio*, and their battalions, under its covert, did not only advance to the edge of the valley on our ſide, but formed two or three battalions on the plain. The earl of *Oſſory*, who commanded the foot oppoſite to them, did what was poſſible to be done, with great killing on both ſides, loſing moſt of his officers, either killed or wounded, and himſelf preſerved by his arms.

While this was acting, and the day almoſt ended, two or three ſquadrons of *French* horſe, ſent from the army, croſſed the valley, and coming up one after another, between the caſtle and their battalions, on a ſudden, and not expected, fell on the duke *de Villa-Hermoſa*'s guards, killing one of their captains, with ſeveral other officers and ſoldiers, putting the reſt in great diſorder.

The *French* horſe having done their work, and ſeeing more ſquadrons advancing towards them, they retired by the way they came; yet the fight continued 'till it was dark, and more than an hour after, by the light of ſome houſes near *Caſtio*, ſet on fire by the *French*. But there being no more houſes to burn, all was quiet, the *French* poſſeſſed of *Caſtio*, and the battalions keeping their ground on the plain of our ſide, where moſt of the fighting had been. But about

two or three hours after, intelligence was brought that the *French* had not only quitted *Caſtio*, and drawn off their battalions, but had left their camp, and were marched towards *Monts*, and was in great haſte, for they left ſome tents and other things behind.

The earl of *Oſſory* in this afternoon's work, purchaſed to himſelf and noble family, immortal honour, commanding the *Engliſh*, as general in the States ſervice, and was, as I believe, the laſt man of all his troops that came off the field: for he was found by ſome of my ſervants and brought to me two hours after all was ended.

The duke of *Monmouth* was all along in this fight, and gained as much honour as was poſſible for a ſingle man, he being but a voluntier. And I am apt to believe, that if ſome ſquadrons had charged as he deſired them, that the *French* horſe that routed the duke *de Villa-Hermoſa*'s guards, would have paſſed their time but ſcurvilly in their retreats. His friend and companion ſir *Thomas Armſtrong*, was ſhot in two or three places. It is hard to ſay what number of men were ſlain, or who loſt moſt. I judge them on both ſides to be about 4 or 5000 killed and wounded; among which were a number of brave officers.

The next day, being *Auguſt* the 15th, there was a ſuſpenſion of arms, and ratified the 20th of the ſame month. Thus, with ſuſpenſion of arms we continued, 'till the general peace, ſigned at *Nimmeguen*, *September* 17, with the ratification

of

of it the 21ſt of *September* * 1678, put an end to the wars, tho' it was ſaid, and generally believed, that the generals of both ſides had the peace in their pockets when they fought; at leaſt they had ſufficient ground to believe it concluded.

## OBSERVATIONS.

CONfederate armies joined and acting together, tho' under one generaliſſimo, are not to be eſteemed equal with the army of any prince, commanded by one general, if the armies are near in ſtrength and quality.

1. All generals of the army that compoſes this confederate body, will expect to be conſulted by the generaliſſimo in every undertaking, that nothing may be done without their conſent.

Now the bringing together theſe generals, as it takes up much time, ſo, often there follows great debates: and whiſt this is doing, the enemy's army paſſes a river or defile, and ſometimes put a convoy into a place that needs it.

As for the ſuccouring a town that is beſieged where expedition is required, there is no more compariſon in the ſpeedy marching of thoſe two armies, than the ſailing of a ſingle ſhip and a fleet. For if any of theſe generals do not cordially like the undertaking, as ſeldom all do, tho' they have in point of honour conſented, the general's

* Obſerve that the ſeveral Dates of time in this Appendix are to be taken *New Stile*.

general's army will come ſlowly to rendevous, and then march with great formality; drawing up at every turn, making many halts; and go over foot-bridges, rather than thro' a ford, where his men ſhall not be up to the knees, and might march ten a breaſt, and twenty other excuſes that I have ſeen. And many times theſe generals do in a manner refuſe the orders of generaliſſimo; but ſtill cover it with ſome excuſes. Beſides, every general hath private inſtructions from his own prince. On this I conclude, that princes leagued ought to act as much as poſſible with their armies ſeparated.

2. Woe be to that people whoſe country is invaded, and their prince forced to bring in foreign aſſiſtance, far exceeding in force what he hath of his own troops. Theſe by what I have ſeen are worſe than enemies, ſet killing aſide; for from theſe laſt they ſeek to ſave themſelves. But auxiliaries pretend to give ſafe-guards, but when the troops of another general comes, they ſlight this ſafe-guard. Thus the people refuged in villages, caſtles, and cloiſters, with all their ſubſtance, are caught in their ſecurity; and ſome times, as I have known it, does not reſt with the loſs of what they have, but purſued by many ſacrileges and rapes, ſparing neither religious women or others. And the army of the country under the convert of thoſe ſtrangers, being guides, do more miſchief than the ſtrangers. And ſome times this poor diſtreſſed prince, upon preſſing occaſions, ſends his orders to ſome one or more

of

of theſe generals to march, and they will make an excuſe, that they cannot get their men to it, 'till they have two or three months pay due to them, which muſt be ſent if he will be ſerved. Beſides this, there are many examples, where theſe auxiliaries have at length conquered the country they come to ſuccour, and keep it to themſeves.

3. The ſecurity of an army conſiſts much in the generals having good intelligences, as well to avoid ſurprizes as to take advantages when occaſions are offered; for there is no army but ſometimes in marching or camping is expoſed to the enemy, if they knew all, and the time for taking their advantage.

4. A general whoſe condition is to ſeek fighting, muſt be careful how he brings his army too near the enemy well poſted, without he comes with reſolution to force him in his camp, or that he can encamp ſo by him at his eaſe as the enemy muſt be enforced to march off before him. For otherwiſe, at his going off, he will run great riſk of being dangerouſly attacked in the flank, rear, or both; eſpecially if it be where there are defiles or rivers.

5. A general that marches with an army for the ſuccour of a town, beſieged by another as great, or near as powerful as that which he commands, if the enemy on his approach draws off, and puts himſelf in battle out of his way, or is marching clear off, the general having gained his point, is not to take notice of him, but without

out loſing time to furniſh the wants of the town, make up the breaches, deſtroy the lines and trenches made by the enemy. For if this general purſue, and in fighting have the better, 'tis but ſome addition to his glory; but if beaten, he loſes his army, town, and honour: for an enemy may be willing to fight, having drawn off, which he dare not do, holding the ſiege.

6. A general that fights an army of which he knows the ſtrength, hath great advantage of another general that fights he knows not what, as it appeared in the battle of *Caſtlet*. For the D. of *Orleans*, might know almoſt to a man, with what ſtrength the prince of *Orange* cou'd come; but the prince of *Orange* could not know that of him, whilſt the king of *French* was ſo near, at the ſiege of *Cambray*, who, with his whole army, might have joined the duke of *Orleans* as eaſily as the detachment did.

7. A general that hath his magazines fully ſtored with all neceſſaries, and well placed in order to his deſign, having the advantage of rivers, and no want of waggons, may well beſiege a town, ſeated near thoſe rivers, in all ſeaſons of the year, and with more advantage in the winter, or rather in the ſpring, before there be forage, than afterwards. For the enemy that might be feared to march for the ſuccour, muſt have time to bring his army together, and then not having the conveniencies of rivers, be forced to bring all his proviſions by land in waggons. And it is almoſt impoſſible, if his magazines and country be far off,

off, to ſupply his army with forage, being to be brought at ſo great a diſtance. And if the army with this winter doing be weaken'd and ſhattered, the ſieges being over, and the forage coming on, it will ſoon recover, or at leaſt be able to make a defenſive war, for the preſervation of towns that muſt be attacked in form, and then towards the latter end of the year, being recruited and recovered, act again.

8. An army marching and making halts whilſt ways are mending, or bridges making, is not without apprehenſion and danger, if the enemy's army be not far off. To avoid this, when the general hath taken his reſolution to march, and by what way, and on how many columns or lines, he immediately ſends truſty and knowing officers with a good eſcort of horſe and foot with pioneers to mend and make clear the ways for the march, and if there be rivers, boats for bridges; then puting good guides with the officer commanding each line, he marches without interruption. But great care is to be taken that the lines march equal, and not too far aſunder, that ſo they may (in caſe of an alarm) be found, or put eaſily in order of battle.

9. Troops preſſed in fight do incline much to croud in one upon another; ſo that if you have not field room it is hard to untangle, and put them in order. In that caſe, ſometimes it may be wiſhed that half the number were away.

10. In battles it ought to be held as an undoubted maxim of war, that a wing of horſe

beating the enemies oppoſite wing, is not to move one foot in the purſuit, but to keep its firſt order, and if the rout be ſuch that the enemy muſt be purſued, let it be done by detachments or commanded men, and if the battle be gained, no plundering 'till all be ſecured.

I do not abſolutely reject battles: for in ſome caſes they are to be fought; and in others, tho' a general do not ſeek fighting, yet he muſt expoſe his army to battle, if the enemy will. But certainly it is a matter of great conſideration, eſpecially when a country is invaded; for the loſs of a battle is many times the loſs of a kingdom: and let a general be never ſo great a captain, having ranged his army in the beſt manner, and given to his officers all good orders; yet when the armies are once engaged, he can act little more than one man's part, and is ſubject, by the failure of many others, to be overthrown.

12. Towns are for the moſt part beſieged becauſe of defects in their fortifications, or wants within, as men, ammunition, or proviſions, &c. ſo as to keep out theſe reliefs; alſo, to fence the quarters, a line of circumvallation is neceſſary; and 'till it be put in defence neither horſe nor foot are to pretend any reſt, or any trench to be opened. But when all is done, if a conſiderable army come to poſt itſelf near this line, if it be not very good and well flanked, with a good ditch and parapet, no ground to command it, and men ſufficient to man it beſides thoſe in the trenches, carrying on the attacks, is is better to hazard

hazard a battle in the plain field than to fight behind ſuch a line. For the enemy lying by you is commonly ſtrongly poſted, will annoy your convoys and foragers, if this will not make you raiſe your ſiege; and if the town be worth it, he will take care to attempt your line by force, and begins commonly an hour or two before day, alarming you round; falls on with ſome falſe attacks, and two or three real ones. Your line is often fifteen or twenty miles about; and if a river runs by the town, as for the moſt part there does, this line is divided, and ſo your army has no communication but by bridges of boats. And in this caſe, it being dark, none goes to help the other; but every one ſtands to defend his part of the line, none knowing where the real danger is, but he that feels it. And if there be a *camp volant*, with the general, he may with it march wrong as well as right: and the enemy once entred, uſually all quit the line, and ſeek to ſave themſelves; and it is hard to put them in any order of battle to reſiſt; ſo that all can be hoped for, is to make a reaſonable retreat. Now in caſe the enemy fail in their attempt, they run little or no hazard: for they retire before it be full day, and thoſe within the line dare hardly purſue 'till parties are ſent out in the morning to diſcover returns. Now if you draw out, and fighting, gain a battle, tho' a relief whilſt you are engaged, ſlip into the pleace, thoſe within ſeeing their ſuccour beaten, loſe courage, and in all likelihold, will give you little trouble before they render,

13. A general coming before a town with a deſign to beſiege it, muſt be well informed of all things within and without before he opens his trenches. For I have ſeen by the miſtake of the true attack, much time trifled away with the loſs of many lives, and I think once with the defeat of the whole army.

14. A general that in a retreat brings his army to attempt the paſſing a river or defile, an enemy's army being near, or in view, runs too much hazard, if it be not by neceſſity, and then he is blameable to have brought it to the extremity.

15. The paſſing of defiles and rivers may be attempted, an enemy's army near, or looking on, in certain caſes; as for the ſuccour of a town or breaking into an enemy's country to conquer. The reaſon of this, is chiefly grounded in the difference of men's courage and reſolutions in attacking, or being attacked. For as a retreat looks ſomething like runing away, eſpecially to the common ſoldiers, ſo advancing raiſes them to confidence of overcoming. Store of cannon in this caſe is of great uſe, but a general having paſſed with his army theſe rivers or defiles, muſt be careful to leave the paſſes well ſecured for his retreat; otherwiſe, after all, if the enemy ſeizes the paſſes or defiles behind him, he may in part, or in the whole loſe his army. Now as the paſſing of rivers and defiles are dangerous, ſo there ought to be great conſideration in the oppoſition, and not to put wholly the fortune

of

of a weaker army upon it. For if the enemy force the paſs, in all likelihood you ſhall be beaten. Wherefore in this caſe, if you will oppoſe, put your army in battle as much covered from cannon as you can, improving the enemy's diſorder, what you may, and as they arrive on your ſide of the paſs, charge, not ſuffering them to form.

16. Great advantages in war are rarely offered, and for the moſt part ſoon paſt. Wherefore, tho' patience and circumſpection are virtues in a general, or chief commander; yet they ought to be watchful, and hold their troops ſo ready that they may not loſe the critical minute or precious moment; it being of ſo much importance in war, that the like peradventure may not happen in the life of a man. I have ſeen myſelf on two or three occaſions, a victory gained, that if one quarter of an hour had been omitted in the attempt, the fortune of the day, in all likelihood, had gone quite contrary to what it did. The cauſe is clear, and found by experience. For tho' man in his reaſon be the moſt excellent of all creatures on earth; yet having loſt it by the paſſing of fear, is one of the leaſt; and fear doth ſometimes ſeize men, being in ſurprize to ſuch a degree, that they know not what they do.

How many men in beating up quarters and routs are ſlain, not daring to turn their faces to make reſiſtances; tho' the very ſame men being, in their judgments, in divers occaſions had carried them themſelves formerly well enough.

17. No merchant ought to be more exact in his

his books than a general in keeping accounts of the enemy's proviſions, how they are brought to the army, and the days, that ſo he may take his advantage.

18. A general muſt be very wary how he engages his army in the ſiege of a town, or invades an enemy's country, chiefly relying on a party within the town, or a raiſing of the people in his favour. I have ſeen and known fatal conſequences in both, even to the loſs of armies; yet ſometimes it hath ſucceeded. However, the offers of enemies, or of thoſe that live amongſt them, are ſtill to be ſuſpected.

19. A prince in time of war ought to be large in rewarding, and very ſevere in puniſhing. His general, whilſt he is ſo, is to be abſolute, and the prince not apt to hear complaints againſt him. That there be from the general even to the corporal, throughout the whole army, an entire and known ſubordination, that each may know whom he is to command, and whom to obey. Alſo, that the troops of the army, may, as near as poſſible, be on theſame foot, and paid alike.

Yet in the king of *Spain*'s *Netherlands*, for what reaſon of ſtate or war I could never learn, there are many important caſes undermined; as between generals *de Battalia*, and governors of provinces, in the province under their government who ſhould command; the general *de Battalia* coming into the province with an army, or party, or with orders to command a town.

Of the national regiments, which are in

thoſe countries, few or none will give place to the other; from whence ariſe (ſometimes) dangerous conteſts, even in the face of the enemy.

One general *de Battalia* will not obey another.

The ſame amongſt *maſters de camps* of foot, and colonels of foot.

*Maſters de camps* of horſe, and colonels of horſe conteſt with thoſe of the foot; as alſo amongſt themſelves.

Captains of horſe and majors of foot conteſt.

In fine, there is room left for diſpute even amongſt the common ſoldiers of ſeveral nations.

20. The perſon of a ſucceſsful general, beloved by the army, and in high eſteem for his experience and conduct in war, is highly to be valued. For the ſoldiers believe that with this man they cannot be beaten, and with another of a contrary reputation, they are always in doubt. The ſame holds in proportion with the inferior commanders. I have ſeen the effect of this, both in armies and parties.

21. An army is more to be valued for its quality, and readineſs to action, than for its number.

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## *The defects of an army.*

AS generals and other commanders not of reputation and experience in war.

The troops compoſed for the moſt part of new men.

The horſe but well mounted.

Neither horſe nor foot well armed.

The officers for want of pay not valuing their employments;

employments; and the ſoldiers in a mutinous humour for the ſame cauſe.

## *Defects and wants in the artillery and its train.*

GReat difference is to be made between victorious and cowed, or beaten troops, 'till the latter be recovered by ſome good winter quarters, or other forces join them.

23. A body of horſe retired into a weak place is never to be thought ſafe; if an enemy's army be within a day's march to them; for once inveſted they are all loſt.

24. Languiſhing ſieges are to be avoided; for tho' an army comes at firſt with much reſolution and courage, and ſo holds it on for the time they think convenient for taking ſuch a place; yet when they ſee the general doth not advance the attacks as he ought, and they loſe men by ſharp ſallies; ſometimes the cannon nailed, and the lodging of the night before broken down, their convoys cut; report of an army marching for its ſuccour; ill weather coming on; and ſometimes a ſmall relief ſliping into the town, which can hardly be avoided 'till a place be cloſely blocked up: theſe and many other accidents, which armies at a ſiege are ſubject to, make men cool, and often deſert, to the weakening of an army; that when the enemy's army appear, they will be found nothing of what they were at firſt. Therefore I conclude, that reaſonable

ſonable hazarding to make diſpatch is the ſaving of men, and the ſureſt way of taking a town.

25. The confederate armies commanded by the prince of *Orange* as Generaliſſimo (moſt of them preſent at the battle of *Seneff*, and ſiege of *Oudenard*) were the emperor's, commanded by the count *de Souch*; the king of *Spain*'s, firſt by the count *de Monterey*, afterwards by the duke *de Villa-Hermoſa*, both governors of *Flanders*; that of the *ſtates general*, commanded by the count *de Waldeck*; that of the Prince and Biſhop of *Aſnaburgh*'s, by monſieur *Lovigny*; the marqueſs of *Brandenburgh*'s, by monſieur *Spaune*; that of *Luninghurgh* and *Zelle*, by monſieur *Chouet*; and that of *Munſter*, by the Baron *de Wedle*.

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# *POSTSCRIPT.*

IT might with reaſon long ſince have been expected that I ſhould have publiſhed ſomething in my own vindication, having been extremely ill-treated in a long letter I received from the earl of *Angleſey*, then lord privy-ſeal, which letter his lordſhip ſoon after thought fit to expoſe to the view of the world in print; but my good fortune was that his lordſhip by an unneceſſary digreſſion, fell foul on the duke of *Ormond* and others, for which being queſtioned, his lordſhip ſuffered in a high degree.

As to myſelf I ſhall only note three or four

things, his lordſhip begins his letter to me, folio the firſt.

" Having received your lordſhip's letter of " the 24th currant, with your printed memoirs, " which you are pleaſed in ſome ſort to entitle " me to." Here I muſt ſay how I came to ſend this letter of the 24th currant with the memoirs.

The Earl of *Angleſey* from his houſe near *Oxford* (I being in *London*) ſent me a ſhort letter, " deſiring me to ſend him one of my me- " moirs :" In anſwer to this I ſent him that mentioned of the 24th currant, all written with my own hand, telling him in it, that there was no ſuch thing in nature as my memoirs ; but gueſſing at his meaning I ſent him one of the books I ſuppoſe he meant, telling him how it came into my hands, but diſowning and proteſting againſt the † book. Now if my lord *Angleſey* ſhall not think fit to produce this letter, as it will ſhew too much his fondneſs of writing ; yet I do undertake, when called upon, to make out by undoubted teſtimony, that I diſowned thoſe books when firſt they came to light, and proteſted againſt them.

Fol. 7 and 8, his lordſhip makes my ſtory of two parts, as having ſerved by the *confederate catholicks* commiſſion 'till the ceſſation made with the marqueſs of *Ormond*, concluded *September*

† A ſpurious Edition, publiſhed in 1683, without his Lordſhip's knowledge, which obliged him to publiſh the forgoing Copy, in a correct manner, under his own inſpection in the year 1684,

*September* 15, 1643, "All which time (ſaith "he) your lordſhip was wholly of the rebel par-"ty, and under their pay and command." The ſecond part; "from that time 'till your "lordſhip finding the ill ſtate of affairs in *Ire-"land*, was diſpatched by the then lord deputy "*Clanrickard* to ſet out the ſame to the king in "*France*, which was in the year 51," tho' his lordſhip doth not mark it. Here this noble lord ſhews himſelf ill informed of what paſſed in Ireland in thoſe days; for in the year 1644 it is notoriouſly known that I commanded an army in *Ulſter*, againſt the *Scots*, by commiſſion from the *confederate catholicks*.

And the following year (1645) by commiſſion from the ſame perſons, I commanded another army in Munſter againſt my lord *Inchiquin*.

In page 8 he ſaith, "My lord I am loath "now to make my remarks upon this ſecond "part, becauſe your lordſhip acted therein at "times under the *confederate-Iriſh*'s commiſſion, "and under his majeſty's authority at other "times, and ſometimes under both;" theſe aſſertions are ſo untrue that I wonder where his lordſhip hath picked up his information; for it may be ſeen on record, that I ſerved by the *confederate catholicks* commiſſion 'till the peace of forty-ſix.

And having laid hold on the king's mercy, always ſince have owned no other authority but his, and am ſorry for the time paſt.

His lordſhip ſpeaks of "a feaſt which I had

prepared

" prepared for the lord *Mountgarret* and the " rebels; but the marqueſs of *Ormond* having " gained the battle at *Kilraſh*, eat what I " could not keep from him."

Now this is as poor an aſperſion as 'tis untrue, for the DUKE of ORMOND knows the contrary, ſo doth many more yet alive, for it could hardly be called a tolerable meal, but to men that were hungry.

I ſhall trouble the reader with no more on this ſubject, but conclude, —— That my lord of *Angleſey*'s long printed letter is all along ſubject to many miſtakes, ſpeaking modeſtly.

FINIS.

Origin of Irish rebellion 4.
Treaty of Repon 4.
Motives of the Irish for rebelling 7
Arrival of Ricaucini p 72.